



BOOKS lately Printed for CHARLES
RIVINGTON at the Bible and Crown
in St. Paul's Church-Yard.

- I.  Review of the HISTORY of *ENGLAND*, in two Volumes. Vol. I. Containing the Titles and Pretensions of our several Kings, and the most remarkable Transactions and Occurrences in each Reign, from the Conquest to the Revolution. Vol. II. Containing the Transactions and Occurrences of the three last Reigns; viz. King *James II.* King *William III.* and Queen *Anne*.

II. An *Essay* concerning MARRIAGE. Shewing, 1. The Preference of *Marriage* to a Single Life. 2. The Arguments for and against a Plurality of *Wives* and *Concubines*. 3. The Authority of *Parents* and *Governors*, in regulating or restraining Marriages. 4. The Power of *Husbands*, and the Privileges of *Wives*. 5. The Nature of *Divorce*, and in what Cases it is allowable. 6. The Reasons of prohibiting *Marriage* within certain Degrees. 7. The Manner of contracting *Espousals*, and what Engagements and Promises of Marriage are binding. 8. The Penalties incurr'd by forcible and clandestine *Marriages*, and the Consequences attending Marriages solemnized by the *Dissenters*. To which is added, An historical Account of the *Marriage Rites and Ceremonies* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and our *Saxon* Ancestors, and of most Nations in the World at this Day. The Second Edition.

Both by Mr. SALMON.



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An IMPARTIAL
EXAMINATION
OF
Bishop BURNET's
History of his Own Times.

CONTAINING
An ABRIDGMENT of that History,
and suitable REMARKS on every
material Paragraph.

Wherein is also given a fuller Account of
many considerable TRANSACTIONS in
the Reigns of King CHARLES II.
and King JAMES II. than has hitherto
been published.

In TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

By Mr. SALMON.

LONDON:

Printed for CHARLES RIVINGTON at the Bible
and Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard, and JOHN
CLARKE at the Bible under the Royal-Exchange.

M.DCC.XXIV.

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VOL. I.

By Mr. SAMUEL MORTIMER.

LONDON.

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M.DCC.LXXV.



THE
PREFACE
 TO THE
REMARKS
 ON
Bishop BURNET'S History.



O Part of our *English* History seems so darkly or so partially written, as that which treats of the Times immediately after the Re-

The PREFACE.

storation ; the Reason of which may not be very difficult to assign.

That mixt Ministry which was then constituted in Hopes of engaging all Men in his Majesty's Interest, occasion'd two potent Parties to be form'd, who ran into different Extremes, and being constantly whetted by Opposition, grew so enrag'd at each other, that the State was very near perishing between them. Party Interest became much more regarded than the Interest of the Nation, and as one or the other prevail'd, this or that Counsel was follow'd ; which occasion'd a wonderful unsteady Conduct.

And as we have receiv'd our Accounts of those Times from Men so immoderately prejudic'd against each other, it is no Wonder we often find their

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their Relations so extremely partial, that it requires no small Labour to sift out the Truth.

The Body of the Nation being in the Interest of the Church, carried their Point at last; but the Whigs were very near involving us in another Civil War, before it could be effected. After twenty Years Experience, it seems, King CHARLES was convinc'd that Church-of-England Principles only were to be rely'd on; and he no sooner form'd his Councils of Men of that Stamp, but he found himself easy and happy, every thing proceeded with a uniform Conduct, and nothing could be more serene and glorious than the Evening of his Reign; Faction and Rebellion seem'd to be laid asleep, and he dy'd possess'd of the Hearts of all his People; never was a more universal Sorrow known, than
in

in the Hour he was taken from them. The latter Part of his Reign he govern'd principally by his own good Sense, refusing to resign his Understanding to designing Statesmen; and whenever we see a Prince take the Reins of Government into his Hands, and become the Governor of his Ministry, as well as of his People, then may the Nation depend on happy Times, and the Prince will infallibly be bless'd by all his Subjects.

From that Uncertainty in the History of the Reign of King CHARLES II. under which we had so long lain, we were in Hopes to have been reliev'd by Bishop *Burnet*, a Man in some Respects not unqualify'd to write the History of those Times; he had the Advantage of a liberal Education, and a general Acquaintance in the Courts of *England* and

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and *Scotland*, and some Intimacy with several Great Men in the Administration; but then the Prejudices of his Education, and his inveterate Malice to every Man, and every Set of Men that did not treat him suitably to the Opinion he had conceiv'd of himself, are so conspicuous in every Page, that little Justice is to be expected from him: His Vanity and Passion to be thought exceeding Wise, are very remarkable; and because he would not be thought ignorant of the minutest Transactions, he undertakes to write positively of many Things he had no manner of Knowledge of; and where he hopes to reflect Honour on himself by Additions or Flourishes of his own, it is evident he has very little Regard to the Truth of any Fact he relates.

It

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It is said by some, he was mighty inquisitive, which is look'd upon to be one good Qualification for a Historian; but surely, no Man ever endeavour'd less to satisfy himself, in many Particulars where he might easily have done it, as will appear in the following Remarks.

However, this good Effect Dr. *Barnet's* History may have, it will probably give the World an Occasion of enquiring into many Things which have hitherto been taken in the Lump, without digesting or considering the Probability of the Relation; and the Doctor, it must be acknowledg'd, has corrected some vulgar Mistakes himself: He has shewn us that the Popish Plot was in the main a Sham, that there were no Grounds to believe Lord *Essex* was murder'd,

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murder'd, or the City fir'd by the Duke of *York*, &c. which have hitherto been believ'd by the Whigs, as firmly as any Article of Faith.

My Design is, if possible, to discover the true History of those Times our Author treats of, and strip them of all partial Representations: How I have succeeded must be determin'd by those Gentlemen who shall take upon them to examine this *Examination*, of whom I beg no other Favour than their Correction, where I happen to be mistaken; and am not very solicitous in what manner they are pleas'd to afford it me, so the Truth of Things be made evident. Nothing is more wanted or desir'd, than an impartial Account of the Reigns of King CHARLES II. and King JAMES II. with Submission to our Right Reverend and Reverend

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rend Historians, Dr. *Kennet*, and Mr. *Echard*, many of whose Mistakes, as well as Bishop *Burnet's*, will appear in this Examination.



An



AN EXAMINATION

OF
Bishop BURNET'S

HISTORY of his Own Times.



The PREFACE.



HIS Reverend Prelate in his Preface acquaints us that his History was written twenty Years ago; but that he found reason to review the whole, and write it over again. He says his Fa-

It does not appear when the Preface was written.

ther having had a large Acquaintance with Men of both Sides, and taking the Education of our Author entirely upon himself, he had a greater Know-

ledge of Affairs than was usual for a Lad of his Years.

He proceeds to give some account of himself and his Family, and tells us, that his Father was a pious, honest, impartial Man, and the only Instance in *Scotland, of a Man of Note*, who from the Beginning to the End of the War never submitted to the new Form of Government (the Usurpation) but yet very freely complained of the Errors of the King's Government, both in Church and State; and upon this Foundation, and thus instructed, he himself began to enquire into the *secret* Management of Affairs.

That he became intimate with those who either were or had been in the Ministry, from whom he learnt many Particulars, and many more from Duke *Hamilton's* Papers; and now for above thirty Years he had been so conversant with Ministers of State, and so constantly employed by them, that he had been able to penetrate far into the Springs and Motives of their Actions.

His chief Design in writing, he says, was to give a true View of Men and Counsels (*leaving publick Transactions to Gazettes and publick Historians*) to relate the Good and Bad of all Sides, and all Persons impartially, and make both himself and his Readers wiser and better: and he appeals to the Great God of Truth, if he does not speak Truth upon all Occasions to the best of his Knowledge. Some may think him, he says, more severe upon his own Order than was needful; but his Zeal for the true Interest of Religion, and to undeceive good People, has induced him to excuse or hide none of their Faults, but to give their Characters copiously and impartially.

That he looks upon the perfecting this History as the greatest Service he could do to God or Man, and

and therefore sets about it with great Caution, *esteeming a Lie in History a much greater Sin than a Lie in common Discourse, as it has a more general Influence.* He says the long Experience he has had of the Baseness of Mankind has made him think generally the worst of Men and Parties; and the Ambition, Peevishness and Ill-nature of many of the Clergy, had so sharpened his Spirits against them, that he honestly cautions the Reader to make some Grains of Allowance when he treats of their Characters, tho' he hopes there is no great Occasion for an Apology.

He says he had shewn this Work to several of his Friends, who assured him it would be of Use to the World; that he had avoided all Art, and written it in a plain clear Stile, choosing rather to be too copious, than dark and concise; and concludes with a short Prayer to God, to whom he dedicates his Labours, that they may awaken the World to reflect on their Follies, and adore his Providence.

R E M A R K S.

The World will make no Difficulty to believe this History has been review'd and alter'd since it was first wrote, when the Passages that formerly appear'd in the World are compar'd with some others exhibited in this posthumous Work; especially if any Credit be given to the Specimen publish'd by Mr. *Elliot*, in the Bishop's Life-time, the Truth whereof I do not find ever controverted, by the Bishop or his Friends; no, not that remarkable Passage, where he makes the Bishop say, *I am always inclin'd to think ill of Churchmen, till I see Cause to think otherwise*; which Words are no where to be found in the present Undertaking; tho' it is

manifest from several Passages that the Author had no great Opinion of that venerable Body. He complains indeed of the Ambition, Peevishness and Ill-nature of the Clergy, in his Preface, &c. but upon second Thoughts he did not think fit to leave it upon Record, That the being a Churchman, or putting on a Gown, in the Language of our modern Wits, did, in *his Opinion*, really transform an honest Fellow into a Villain.

As to the Account our Author gives us of his Education and his Family, it seems pretty evident to me, that they were both Presbyterian. His Mother he acknowledges was Sister to *Waristoun*, one of the Chiefs of the Rebel Covenanters; and there was so good an Understanding between *Waristoun* and our Author's Father, that it seems *Waristoun* offer'd him his Papers, and Assistance, in writing the History of the Civil Wars. And he himself tells us that *Oliver* had so good an Opinion of his Father, that he would have made him a Judge; which is hardly credible, if he was really Episcopal, and a Cavalier. And if *Oliver* was thus indulgent to him, I may say, in the Author's Language, that he was the *singular Instance* in the three Kingdoms, of a Cavalier that was so far in his good Graces. But farther, the frequent Attendance of our Author and his Father in the Presbyterian Assemblies, which he acknowledges himself, would incline a *South Briton* to believe they were originally well affected to the *Good Old Cause*, however our Author might afterwards, upon some laudable Views, desert the Brethren for a time.

Possibly neither he nor his Father approv'd of all *Waristoun's* Measures; a Majority of the *Scots* Presbyterians we know did not, and these were denominated Loyalists, in that Part of *Britain*; for these were willing to submit to their Sovereign, upon Con-
dition

dition he would establish their Idol, Presbytery; while Waristoun and his Adherents were for casting off their Allegiance absolutely, and would hear of no Terms whatever.

Thus much seems necessary to observe at our setting out; for some Readers, upon these mighty Pretensions to Loyalty and Impartiality, with which our Bishop abounds, may be apt to imagine he was really educated in the Principles of Loyalty and Episcopacy, as we understand them in the South, and was so prejudiced in their Favour, that nothing but his *Love of Truth, and Zeal for Religion*, could have induc'd him to disclose the vile Conduct of his Brethren, the Sons of Monarchy and Episcopacy.

As to the Bishop's Veracity, the Reader will be able to pass some Judgment of it, when he has perus'd the History; but it is a little unfortunate we do not yet find any one Man, of what Persuasion or Party soever, that is willing to subscribe to the Truth of every Particular, notwithstanding those solemn Appeals our Author makes to the God of Truth. However, the World seems generally to agree with the Bishop in this, that *a Lie in History is a much greater Crime than a Lie in common Discourse*. They are very ready also to admit, that Calumny and Detraction, the defaming Sovereign Princes and noble Families, who have honour'd us with their Confidence, is of all other Species of Lies the most detestable.

What Use this History is like to be of to the World, and how we shall be made wiser or better by this Writer, I can't conceive: A Writer! whose Talent seems to lie in snarling at every Establishment; and particularly at that Church whose Bread he eat, and with whose Honours he was cloth'd! who animadverts on the Rebellion and Hypocrisy of the Sectaries, and yet palliates their grossest Crimes!

who reviles the Priests of every Religion and Persuasion, as the worst and basest of Mankind, and who traduces *all* Sovereign Princes and their Ministers, and represents them as so many Tyrants and Oppressors! How are we like to be the *wiser and better* for such Observations as these, unless Wisdom and Goodness consist in opposing our Superiors, and attempting the Destruction of all Ecclesiastical and Civil Government?

If he had shewn us any one Form of Government he was satisfied with, or any Powers he wou'd willingly have obey'd, then might the World have receiv'd some Instruction from his Labours, and he might with a better Grace have dedicated it to the God of Peace and Order. But to proceed to the History it self.





AN EXAMINATION

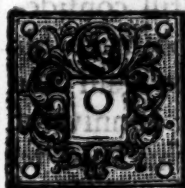
OF

Bishop *BURNET*'s

HISTORY of his Own Times.

BOOK I.

ABRIDGMENT.



OUR Author begins with a Summary of the Affairs of *Scotland*, wherein he takes Occasion to acquaint us, that the Reformation in that Kingdom was accomplish'd in a popular and parliamentary Way, when the Crown was either upon the Head of an absent Queen, or Infant King. In the Minority of King *James*, he says there were two Parties, one that wish'd well to the Queen Mother, then a Prisoner

a Prisoner in *England*, who were either professed Papists or indifferent to all Religions; the other zealous for the Reformation, who were fix'd in a Dependence on the Crown of *England*, and in a Jealousy of *France*.

The first, he says, insinuated into the King, that the other Party by deposing his Mother, and setting him up when he was but a Year old, had ruined the Monarchy, and made his Crown precarious; that he was really but a King in Name, the Power being in the Hands of the Queen of *England's* Creatures. These Arguments, he says, were enforc'd by Representations of the like Nature from the *Guises*, who were his Cousin *Germans*, and inclin'd him thoroughly to the Interest of the *Roman* Catholick Party; but the Duke of *Guise* being kill'd, King *James* was no longer under *French* Management; from that time he wholly resign'd his Affairs to Queen *Elizabeth* and her Ministry, and having married a Daughter of *Denmark*, he granted the Kirk all the Laws they desired, and endeavoured to remove all Suspicions of his being inclined to Popery. Notwithstanding which, our Author observes the Kirk continued their accustomed Insolence to their Sovereign, and this confirmed him in that Disgust he had early entertained for that Race of Saints, and wrought in him an inveterate Hatred to Presbytery, and the Power of the Kirk: He adds, that the King observing the *Popish* Interest was still considerable in *England*, and might possibly obstruct his ascending that Throne, endeavour'd to gain the *English* Papists, assuring them, he would connive at them; that he also wrote a Letter to the Pope to assure him of this, which was afterwards published by *Bellarmino* upon his Majesty's putting the Laws in execution against Papists; and though my Lord *Balmerino*, his Secretary, acknowledged, that he procured

cured this Letter to be sign'd without the King's being acquainted with the Purport of it, yet *Balmerino* being condemned to die for it, and afterwards pardon'd, the Bishop is of Opinion, that his Majesty was really acquainted with the Contents of that Letter, and that the pretended Confession of the Secretary was only collusive, to allay the Jealousies the Kirk still entertain'd of the King's favouring Popery, notwithstanding he constantly wrote and disputed against it, and even asserted, that the Pope was Antichrist.

He says, he did not only keep fair with the Popish Party, but so insinuated himself into Secretary *Cecil*, and the Great Men in the Protestant Interest in the Court of *England*, that they all of them, without knowing of one another's doing it, and without being suspected by the Queen, sign'd an Engagement to adhere to the Succession of the King of *Scots*; and that this Affair was managed by his Ambassador *Bruce*, for which Service he was made Master of the Rolls, and a Peer of *Scotland*.

When King *James* succeeded to the Crown of *England*, he says, he sufficiently discovered his Aversion to the *Scotish* Kirk, and particularly by his introducing Episcopacy there, which how right soever it might be in itself, he thinks was a great Error in Politicks, it being at that time contrary to the Bent and Genius of that Nation, and there being no Revenues annex'd to those Bishopricks but what he must purchase for them: He says, he did indeed procure an Act for sequestering a third Part of the Tythes of every Parish for a Provision for those who served the Cure, which amounted to a tolerable Maintenance for the inferior Clergy; but he could not so easily provide for the Bishops, and therefore they held their former Cures on their Promotion, with some small Addition; and though they

they assum'd but little Authority over their Presbyters at first, he acknowledges they met with much rough Opposition; and he is of Opinion, that the Revival of Episcopacy, and the endeavouring to render that Church conformable to the Rites and Liturgy of the Church of *England*, and the ill Conduct of the *Scotish* Bishops themselves, were the Occasion of the Discontents of that People, and the Foundation of the Civil Wars that follow'd.

R E M A R K S.

What we are to understand by the Reformation in *Scotland*, being Popular and Parliamentary, p. 6. is past my Apprehension; for if it was Parliamentary, it was legal, and could not be popular in our Author's Sense; but Bishop *Spotswood*, and the best *Scotish* Writers, assure us, that the first Reformers there, proceeded without any legal Authority, not only to pull down Images, but to demolish Monasteries and other Religious Places, to insult, and even murder the Clergy, and seize upon their Goods and Revenues; and that at length they openly rebell'd and wrested the Government out of the Hands of the Queen-Regent. See *Spotswood* 83, 117, 125, 130, 136. And these Things, 'tis true, they effected during the Absence of their Queen, and the Minority of the King, if that may be any Excuse.

But how did they behave themselves after the King arrived at full Age? To pass by many Affronts of an inferior Nature, did they not seize upon his Majesty, and make him their Prisoner at *Ruthven* in the Year 1582, which Fact was approved of by the General Assembly? *Spotswood* 320, 322. And they had the Assurance to give out, that the King voluntarily put himself into their Hands; but this was sufficiently confuted by his Majesty's Declaration

tion to the contrary, after he obtain'd his Liberty, which Instrument, as it discovers an uncommon Goodness and Lenity in that Prince towards his Rebellious Subjects, deserves to be inserted in this Place, and is as follows, viz.

“ WE, with the Advice of the Lords of our Pri-
 “ vy-Council, having thought expedient to
 “ notify unto the World, but especially to all our
 “ good and loyal Subjects, our true Mind, touching
 “ the Things that fell out in the Year past, declare
 “ the same to be as followeth: That is howsoever,
 “ for preserving of publick Quietness, we did pa-
 “ tiently endure the Restraint of our Person at
 “ *Rushen*, with the secluding of our Counsellors
 “ from us, and all that ensued thereupon: Yet did
 “ we take it deeply to Heart, and did account no
 “ otherwise of it than a Fact most reasonable, at-
 “ tending it should please God to restore us to our
 “ former Estate and Liberty; which having now
 “ by his Goodness obtained, to make known our
 “ indifferent Disposition towards all our good Sub-
 “ jects, and that we do not seek the Harm and
 “ Ruin of any one whomsoever; We have resolved
 “ to forgive and forget all Offences by-gone, es-
 “ pecially that which was committed in *August*
 “ last, and hath been since that time strongly main-
 “ tain'd, providing the Actors and Assisters do shew
 “ themselves penitent for the same, ask Pardon in
 “ due time, and do not provoke us by their unlaw-
 “ ful Actions hereafter to remember that Attempt.
 “ Willing all our Subjects, by the Example of this
 “ our Clemency, (whereof some already have made
 “ Proof) to discharge all Quarrels amongst them-
 “ selves, and not to malice one another for what-
 “ soever Cause by-gone. All which we will have
 “ buried in Oblivion, and to this have ordain'd

“ Publication to be made thereof, in all the princ-
 “ pal Burghs, &c.

This exceeding Goodness of the King had no other Effect upon that People, but to encourage another Conspiracy against him in the Year 1585; when they had again Recourse to Arms, and again seiz'd the Person of their Sovereign at *Stirling*, and extorted a Pardon from him, for what they had done. *Spotswood*, 341.

As to *Gowry's* Conspiracy against this Prince, when he escap'd being assassinated as narrowly as ever Prince did, and which our Author himself acknowledges was no sham Plot, I shall not charge it upon the Kirk in general; but thus much is observable, that when the Council required the Ministers of *Edinburgh* to give Thanks for his Majesty's Escape, they absolutely refus'd it.

And as Dr. *Spotswood's* Account of the King's Behaviour, when he was surpriz'd by the Assassins, discovers a greater Spirit in this Prince than his Enemies will generally allow him, and in a great measure clears him of that Pusillanimity they frequently attribute to him, I shall give it in the Doctor's own Words, whose Authority is at least equal to that of our Author's.

“ The King having been hunting, he says;
 “ after a short Chace, and a Buck kill'd, made
 “ towards *Perth*, accompany'd with the Duke
 “ of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Marre*, and a few Gen-
 “ tlemen more, all in their hunting Coats.
 “ By the Way the King did ask the Duke of
 “ *Lenox* if he had known Mr. * *Alexander* (for
 “ the Duke had married his Sister) at any time
 “ troubled or distemper'd in his Wits? The
 “ Duke answering that he never had known any
 “ such thing in him, the King insisted no far-
 ther.

* Brother to
 Earl *Gowry*,
 Provost of
 the City.

“ ther. Being come to the Town, the Earl did Earl Gowry.
 “ meet him, and was noted by all the Company
 “ to be in some Trouble of Mind, (the very Ima-
 “ gination of the Fact he went about perplexing
 “ his Thoughts.) But he colour'd all with the
 “ Want of Entertainment, saying that he did not
 “ expect the King, and that his Dinner was not
 “ prepar'd. The King wishing him not to trouble
 “ himself with those Thoughts, because a little
 “ thing would content him; and for the Noblemen,
 “ a Part of his Dinner would suffice them. They
 “ discours'd of Hunting, and other common Mat-
 “ ters, till Meat was dress'd. How soon the King
 “ had taken a little Refreshment, and the Lords
 “ were placed at a Table in another Room, Mr. *A-*
 “ *lexander* did sound in the King's Ear that the
 “ Time was fit, whilst the Lords were at Dinner,
 “ to go and examine a certain Stranger: At which
 “ Word the King arose and went up Stairs, Mr. *A-*
 “ *lexander* going before him; the King did call
 “ Sir *Thomas Areskin* (afterwards Earl of *Kelly*) to
 “ follow him; but Mr. *Alexander* turning at the
 “ Door after the King was enter'd, said that the
 “ King willed him to stay below. Whereupon
 “ Sir *Thomas* went back. Thus the Door was shut,
 “ Mr. *Alexander* guiding him to an inner Room;
 “ the King did perceive a Man standing alone;
 “ whereupon he ask'd if that was the Man? Nay,
 “ said Mr. *Alexander*, there is another Business in
 “ hand; and with that Word covering his Head,
 “ You remember, said he, how you used my Fa-
 “ ther, and now must you answer for it. Your
 “ Father! answer'd the King, I was not the Cause
 “ of his Death, it was done in my Minority, by
 “ Form of Justice. But is this your Purpose? and
 “ have you train'd me hither to murder me? Did
 “ you learn this Lesson of Mr. *Robert Rollock* your
 “ Master?

“ Master? Or think you, when you have done
 “ your Wills, to go unpunish’d? Mr. *Alexander*
 “ stricken with the Speeches, and the Man who
 “ was plac’d there to assist him trembled for Fear,
 “ desir’d the King to be quiet and make no Noise,
 “ for that he would go speak with his Brother,
 “ and pacify him. This said, he went down a
 “ back Way, as it seem’d, to the Court below.

“ Whether he did meet with his Brother at that
 “ time, or not, is unknown, but his Stay was
 “ short; and when he return’d, he said to the
 “ King, There is no Remedy, you must die; then
 “ making as tho’ he would tie the King’s Hands,
 “ they fell a wrestling, and the King drawing him
 “ by force to a Window in the Corner that look’d
 “ towards the Street, as he espy’d the Earl of
 “ *Marre*, cried, Help! Earl of *Marre*, help! The
 “ Voice and Words were discern’d by all the Lords
 “ and Gentlemen, who thereupon ran to seek the
 “ King, by the Way that went up, but the Doors
 “ being shut, there was no Entry that Way, till
 “ the same was broke by force, which took up a
 “ large time; upon the first Cry, Sir *Thomas Arres-*
 “ *kin*, suspecting Treason, did flee upon *Gowry*, and
 “ taking him by the *George*, said, Thou art the
 “ Traitor. But they were quickly sunder’d by his
 “ Servants that stood by. The first that came to
 “ the King was a Page, call’d, *John Ramsey*, who
 “ falling upon a back Passage by which the Trai-
 “ tors, after the Deed committed, had purpos’d to
 “ escape, found the King and Mr. *Alexander* strug-
 “ gling; the King calling to him, and bidding him
 “ strike the Traitor, he gave Mr. *Alexander* two or
 “ three Wounds with his Dagger, and so parted him
 “ from the King. The Man who was plac’d there
 “ to assist Mr. *Alexander* did steal away secretly,
 “ and he himself perceiving that the Treason was
 “ discover’d,

“ discover'd, made down the Stairs, where being
 “ encountred by Sir *Thomas Areskin*, and ask'd how
 “ the King was, because he gave no direct Answer,
 “ and only said, that he took God to witness that
 “ he was not in the Fault, he thrust him through
 “ the Body, and kill'd him outright.

“ Sir *Thomas* was follow'd by *Hugh Hereife*, Doc-
 “ tor of Medicine, and a Foot-boy, named *Wilson*,
 “ who seeing the King safe, were not a little joy'd,
 “ and placing him in a little Room, and shutting
 “ the Door, they prepar'd to defend the Entry;
 “ *Gowry*, accompany'd with three or four Servants,
 “ breaketh presently into the Chamber, and with
 “ his two Swords, one in each Hand, puts them
 “ all to their Shift, and had undoubtedly over-
 “ thrown them, but that one of the Company cry-
 “ ing, You have kill'd the King our Master, and
 “ will you also take our Lives? he became asto-
 “ nish'd, and setting the Points of his two Swords
 “ to the Earth, as if he minded to cease from any
 “ more Fight, he was instantly stricken by the
 “ Page with a Rapier, which pierc'd the Heart so
 “ as he fell down dead. The Servants seeing him
 “ fall, made away, only Master *Thomas Cranston* be-
 “ ing sorely wounded, and not able to shift for
 “ himself, was apprehended. In this Fight Sir
 “ *Thomas Areskin* and Doctor *Hereife* were both
 “ hurt, but nothing dangerously wounded.

“ By this time the Doors of the other Passage
 “ being made open, the Lords, and a number with
 “ them, entred into the Room, who hearing what
 “ happen'd, went all to their Knees, and the King
 “ himself conceiving a Prayer, gave Thanks to God
 “ for his Deliverance, and that the Device of those
 “ wicked Brothers was turn'd upon their own
 “ Heads. The Danger that ensued was not much
 “ less, for the People of the Town taking up Arms,
 Vol. II. X “ did

“ did inviron the House, crying to give them out
 “ their Provost, otherwise they should blow them
 “ all up with Powder. The Rage of the Multi-
 “ tude was great, (for they loved the Earl, as
 “ being their Provost, beyond all measure,) and
 “ with great Difficulty were they kept back from
 “ using Violence. At last the Bailiffs, and certain
 “ of the Citizens, being admitted to enter, and
 “ brought to the King, when they were inform’d
 “ of the Truth of Things, return’d and pacify’d
 “ the People. After which the King took Horse,
 “ and return’d to *Falkland*, where he was welcomed
 “ (the Rumour of the Danger having prevented his
 “ coming) with great Acclamations of Joy.

To proceed; notwithstanding King *James* granted
 the Kirk all the Privileges they could ask, and re-
 sign’d himself wholly to Queen *Elizabeth*’s Conduct,
 our Author still insinuates he was in the Popish
 Interest, and wrote a Letter to the Pope to assure
 him of it; tho’ we find *Balmerino* the Secretary, in
 his Trial, confess’d he transacted that Matter entire-
 ly without the King’s Knowledge.

As to the King’s insinuating himself into Queen
Elizabeth’s Ministers, so far as to procure them to
 sign an Instrument, engaging to advance him to the
 Throne of *England* after her Majesty’s Death; tho’
 something of this kind has been said by others, it
 will remain a Doubt with me, whether they ever
 proceeded so far as to give it under their Hands,
 till I see it better prov’d; for Queen *Elizabeth* was
 a Princess of great Penetration, and seldom wanted
 Intelligence, and it is very difficult to believe that
 none of these great Men should use more Caution,
 and yet remain undiscover’d in that Reign; and it
 is still more improbable, if there were so many se-
 veral Instruments sign’d, that none of them should
 have appear’d after that King came to the Crown,

when

when every one would certainly have been forward enough to have made a Merit of it.

As for that Aversion which our Author observes the King discover'd to the Kirk, on his Accession to the Crown of *England*, I believe none can doubt of the Truth of this, who have ever heard with what Insolence those Saints treated their Sovereign, while he remain'd amongst them: Nor can it be wonder'd at, that a Prince who had seen and suffer'd so much by their rebellious Principles, should endeavour to establish a Religion that would teach them to be better Subjects, as well as better Christians. What is such a Dominion worth, if it may be call'd one, where a Pack of saucy Pretenders to Religion shall, upon every Occasion, insult their Prince, and under Colour of advancing the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, renounce his Authority, and in effect make their Prince their Subject? And tho' our Author seems to be of Opinion, that the King's Religion ought to have truckled to his Politicks, yet he has not any where shewn how it can possibly be the Interest of any Prince on Earth to encourage Presbyterian, and consequently, Republican Principles.

He acknowledges, that the first Bishops behav'd with much Moderation, and yet met with but rough Treatment from the Saints: And tho' he is of Opinion that the Revival of Episcopacy in the *North*, was the Foundation of the Civil Wars, it is the Opinion of others, that it was the Want of that steady Conduct, so remarkable in the glorious Queen *Elizabeth*, and the too great Concessions and Indulgence of the *Stuart* Race, that occasion'd most of their Misfortunes. And our Author himself tells us, but a few Pages farther, that so small a Force as a Troop of Horse would have settled the Episcopal Government in *Scotland*; and seems to laugh

at the Ministry, for endeavouring to support Episcopacy by the Civil Powers, when the Magistrates themselves were fanatically inclin'd; tho' this derives no small Honour on that Administration which refus'd to introduce an armed Force to overawe the Civil Powers, even in a Case of that Consequence.

ABRIDGMENT.

Prince *Henry*, our Author proceeds to tell us, was poison'd by the Earl of *Somerset*, as King *Charles I.* inform'd Colonel *Titus*, which he insinuates was on account of his firm Adherence to the Protestant Religion; and he says that it is certain, that the King himself was so terrify'd by the Practices of the Jesuits, especially after the Gunpowder-Plot, that he was afraid of giving them any Provocation.

Our Author is wonderfully dissatisfy'd that the King would not support his Son-in-law the Prince *Palatine*, in his Pretensions to the Kingdom of *Bohemia*; for this, he says, was the fairest Opportunity that ever offer'd of establishing the Reformation in *Europe*.

But what contributed to render this Reign inglorious, he says, was the parting with the cautionary Towns the *Dutch* had put into Queen *Elizabeth's* Hands, as a Security to reimburse the Nation the Charges she had been at in supporting that State against the *Spaniard*. The Money these Towns were given up for, he observes, was soon squander'd away, and another Project set on foot to raise more, which very much weaken'd the Influence the Crown formerly had upon the Subject, namely, the absolute Sale of all the Leasehold Estates that were held of the Crown; for the Renewal of these Leases, he observes,

observes, did not only bring in great Fines to the Crown, but the Lessees were of course Dependants and in the Interest of the Court.

Another Mismanagement our Author reflects on, was the granting the Wardships and Marriages of Heirs (which were then in the Hands of the Crown) to the King's Servants and Favourites, who made the most of them. This he looks upon not only as a great Oppression, but that it depriv'd the Crown of the Opportunity of obliging many noble Families to whom our Kings used oftentimes to remit what they might legally claim, or compound with them for moderate Fines.

And what encreas'd the general Odium, he says, was the King's Usage of *Sir Walter Raleigh*, and the protecting the Earl of *Somerset*, and the Countess of *Essex*, who had so barbarously murder'd *Sir Thomas Overbury*. These Actions, he tells us, very much sunk the Reputation of a Reign already expos'd to Contempt. His Majesty, he adds, being weary of that Insolence with which the Duke of *Bucks* treated him, was about to throw him off, and bring the Earl of *Somerset* into Play again; which the Duke discovering, poison'd his Majesty, to prevent his own Disgrace. And no King, he thinks, could die less lamented, or less esteem'd; for while his Majesty was flatter'd beyond measure by hungry Writers at Home, Abroad he was despis'd as a Pedant, without true Judgment, Courage or Steadiness; subject to his Favourites, and deliver'd up to the Counsels of *Spain*.

R E M A R K S.

As to the poisoning of Prince *Henry*, however our Author, and some other Historians, may give into that Story, it remains to this Day very un-

certain whether he was poison'd or not; the Physicians who attended him, and saw him opened, certify'd that he dy'd of a Fever, after twelve Days Indisposition; and the King his Father, as well as the Queen his Mother, who were most nearly concern'd to enquire into this Matter, seem'd to be entirely satisfy'd that he had fair Play. The Enemies of the *Stuart* Family, indeed, suggested then, as they do now, that the King had an Aversion to this Son, upon account of his firm Adherence to the Protestant Interest; and therefore stifled or discountenanced all Enquiries of this nature: but then they must make the King to approve of the Fact afterwards, if they do not make him conscious to the Design against his Son's Life before; and those that can believe either of these, I should think it lost Time to endeavour to confute.

To proceed; if King *James* was so terrify'd with the Plots of the Jesuits, that he was afraid of provoking them, how comes it to pass that so many severe Acts were made against their Religion, and the Laws against Popery so strictly executed in this Reign? (Except when the *Spanish* Match was on foot, when a Relaxation of the penal Laws may be much better accounted for another way.)

And tho' our Author makes it a Subject of his Lamentation, that King *James* should let such an Opportunity slip of advancing the Reformation in *Europe*, as he did when he neglected to join the *German* Princes, and support the *Palatine's* Pretensions to the Crown of *Hungary*; yet if this Reverend Prelate had consider'd what he himself observes, that King *James* had no Opinion of his Son's Title, he would certainly have been far from reflecting on the King on this account; for tho' Religion may be a glorious Pretence for War, and that War be really a just one, yet if it be unjust
in

in the Opinion of the Aggressor himself, surely true Religion will be but little advanc'd by the Enterprize, unless Christians too proceed upon Turkish or Fanatick Maxims, whose Votaries hold that *Dominion is founded in Grace*, and that *none but true Believers are entitled to the Kingdoms of the Earth*.

What renders the Administration in this Reign still more inglorious, our Author thinks, was the parting with the Cautionary Towns in *Holland*; but whether this was a voluntary Act, our Author, according to his usual Ingenuity, does not trouble himself to consider; tho' it is apparent from his own Writings, he was not ignorant that the Crown was in such Distress for Money at this time that they could not maintain the Fortifications of these Places, and the Parliament absolutely refus'd to grant any. I am indeed of Opinion with our Author, that the delivering up those Towns was of infinite Disadvantage to the Kingdom: the *Dutch* till then were dependant on *England*, and durst not encroach upon our Trade, and insult us at Sea, as they have done since: They durst not have acted those Cruelties on the *English* Subjects at *Amboyna*, and entirely have excluded the Nation which establish'd their State, from all the valuable Branches of Trade in the *East*, if we had then been possess'd of those Fortresses in their Country; but whether the Surrender of them is to be imputed to the King, or to the Parliament who refus'd to supply the King's Necessities; or whether the Court and the Commons ought not to share the Blame among them, being both, perhaps, in the wrong, as frequently happens, I believe it will be difficult at this time of Day to determine; and it may be time enough to arraign the Administration, when we are better appriz'd of the Motives by which they were govern'd. As to the suffering Sir *Walter Raleigh* to

be executed, and reprieving the Earl of *Somerset* and the Countess of *Essex*, we may admit these were real Blemishes on the Administration; but in how few Reigns was there less Blood spilt? when were the People less tax'd or oppress'd? or when did Peace and Plenty more universally flourish? For which invaluable Blessings, what Returns did the People make to this Prince, and his Son King *Charles I.*? If there was something amiss in the Court, surely the Country was not altogether faultless.

The Lord *Clarendon* differs much from our Author, in the Account of this King's Death; for he tells us, that "His Majesty, after a short Indisposition by the Gout, fell into an Ague, which
" meeting many Humours in a fat unweildy Body
" of fifty eight Years old, in four or five Fits carried him out of the World. After whose Death
" many scandalous and libellous Discourses were
" rais'd, without the least Colour or Ground, as
" appear'd upon the strictest and most malicious Examination that could be made long after, in a
" Time of License, when no body was afraid of
" offending Majesty, and when prosecuting the
" highest Reproaches and Contumelies against the
" Royal Family was held very meritorious." And, notwithstanding the Bishop's Insinuations to the contrary, the same Lord *Clarendon* assures us, that King *James* had more Learning and Knowledge than any Prince of that Age.

And the better to confute those Insinuations of the Bishop, that this Prince died neither lamented or esteemed, I shall add the Character given of him by Dr. *Spotswood*, whose personal Attendance on his Majesty must give him much better Opportunities of knowing him, than our Author cou'd pretend to, and whose Sincerity will be at least as readily

readily relied on. His Words are these: " He was
 " the *Solomon* of this Age, admir'd for his wise
 " Government, and for his Knowledge of all man-
 " ner of Learning; for his Wisdom, Moderation,
 " Love of Justice; for his Patience and Piety,
 " (which shined above all his other Virtues, and
 " is witness'd in the learned Works he left to Po-
 " sterity) his Name shall never be forgotten, but
 " remain in Honour so long as the World en-
 " dureth: We that have had the Honour and Hap-
 " piness many times to hear him discourse of the
 " most weighty Matters, as well of Policy as Di-
 " vinity, now that he is gone, must comfort our
 " selves with the Remembrance of these Excellen-
 " cies, and reckon it not the least part of our Hap-
 " piness to have liv'd in his Days. *Spotf.* 546.

ABRIDGMENT.

To return to our Author; the Death of this Prince, he says, very much sunk the Credit of the Bishops of *Scotland*, who were his Creatures and Dependants, and had been guilty of the most abject Flattery towards him. On the other hand, the Puritans gain'd Ground in the Opinions of the People, putting on an external Appearance of great Strictness and Gravity, preaching against the Vices of the Court, for which they were very gently punish'd; while they rais'd their Reputations thereby, and drew Presents from the People, which abundantly made up their Sufferings. The Puritans also set up private Meetings, where they gave great Vent to extemporary Prayer, which was taken for Inspiration: They pretended also to the Gift of Prophecy, and were ever reviling their Enemies, and expressing their Spite against those who differ'd from them, while they insinuated themselves into silly Women,

Women, and those they hop'd to make any Advantage of. These Arts, he says, he saw a great way into, in the Family of his Great Grandmother, who was possess'd of 2000 l. per Ann. which she distributed among the Brethren, and was one of their greatest Supports.

When King *Charles I.* came to the Crown, our Author acquaints us, he was thought a Favourer of the Puritans, his Tutor and all his Court being of that Way; and what confirm'd People in that Opinion, was the offering the Great Seal to *Dr. Preston*, who was the Head of the Puritan Party, which he commends that Saint for refusing: but his Majesty was so fond of the Doctor's Company, it seems, that he brought him up with him in the Coach, from *Theobalds* to *London*, after his Father's Death; which gave some Offence at that Time to the other Side, according to our Author.

R E M A R K S.

That the Death of King *James* might sensibly affect the Bishops and Clergy of the Church of *Scotland*, whose Interest this Prince always espous'd, is no great Wonder; especially if it be true that King *Charles* his Successor was at first suspected to be inclin'd to the Puritans, as our Author suggests; neither is it at all difficult to believe, that upon his Majesty's Demise the Presbyterians resum'd their wonted Insolence. It may be also easily admitted, from the Character our Author has given us of King *James*, that if those Bishops and Clergy spoke of him with less Virulence than he has, they must, in his Opinion, be guilty of Flattery; but neither the Reputation of the Bishops, or his Majesty's Character, probably, will suffer much from these Insinuations of our Author, how maliciously soever they were intended.

As

As to the Practices of the Saints, which the Bishop proceeds to lay open, all the World must allow he was very well qualify'd for the Undertaking, and has shewn them in their proper Colours; tho' some will have it that the principal Design of this Relation was to introduce the Story of his Great Grandmother, and apprise the World of her Quality.

A B R I D G M E N T.

The Bishop proceeds to inform us, that King *Charles* was offended with King *James's* light and familiar Way, which he look'd upon to be the Effect of his hunting and drinking, when he forgot his Dignity sometimes, he tells us, and broke out into Indecencies.

The Gravity of the *Spaniard* was more suitable to King *Charles's* Temper, he says, which was fullen even to Moroseness; insomuch that he despis'd and neglected the Civilities and Affability which were so taking with the People of this Nation, and to which they had been long accusom'd; and he had so ungracious a Way of granting a Favour, he says, that the manner of bestowing it was as mortifying as the Favour itself might be obliging.

But the King resolving to carry on the Design of his Father, he says, of endowing the *Scottish* Bishopricks, and resuming the Tithes and Churchlands, which had been granted away during his Father's Minority, he secretly purchas'd of the Families of *Hamilton* and *Lenox*, with *English* Money, the Abbey of *Aberbroth*, and the Lordship of *Glasgow*, which these Noblemen made a Shew of surrendring voluntarily, in order to give a good Example to others, and gave them to the two Archbishopricks. Several Estates of less Value his Majesty
also

also purchas'd, he says, for the other Sees; and that all who hop'd for favour at Court, offer'd their Church-Lands to Sale at low Rates.

He adds, as a piece of secret History, that the Earl of *Nithsdale*, who had married the Duke of *Buckingham's* Niece, and was then a Papist in his Heart, was sent to *Scotland* to take the Surrender of all Church-Lands; and that he was to assure those who surrendred them readily, of good Usage, but that his Majesty would proceed with all Rigour against those who refus'd. That the Purchasers of Church-Lands being appriz'd on what Errand the Earl was coming, met, and resolv'd, that if the Earl proceeded to execute his Majesty's Orders, they would fall upon him, and all his Party, *in the old Scottish manner, and knock them on the Head*: But, he says, the Earl apprehending the Service to be desperate, did not think fit to disclose his whole Instructions, and so return'd to Court without effecting, or ever proposing what he was sent about; and the Design was laid aside for some time.

In the Year 1633, his Majesty coming down to *Scotland* to be crown'd, an Act was propos'd by the Court Party to empower his Majesty to prescribe Apparel to Churchmen, &c. which the Clerk Register, whose Province it was to number the Votes, declar'd was carried in the Affirmative; but the Bishop tells us, the Earl of *Rothes* affirm'd, that there was a Majority against it; whereupon the King said, the Clerk Register's Declaration must stand, unless the Earl would accuse him of falsifying a Record of Parliament, which was capital; but this the Earl declin'd, for if he had fail'd in the Proof, he was liable to the same Punishment; and thus, says the Bishop, the Act was publish'd, though in truth it was rejected. Upon the passing this Act, the *Scots*, he says, look'd upon their Liberties as gone,
and

and that a Parliament was now no more than a piece of Pageantry, if the Clerk Register could declare the Majority how he pleas'd, and no Scrutiny was allowed.

The King, he says, resolving to prosecute his Design of resuming the Church-Lands, the Possessors of them, in order to engage the whole Kingdom in their Quarrel, insinuated amongst the most zealous Preachers, and they among their People, that this was done with a Design to introduce Popery.

The next thing our Author falls upon, is the arbitrary and illegal Proceedings at the Trial of the Lord *Balmerino*, for libelling the King and his Government.

This Libel was drawn up in the Form of a Petition, which the Lord *Balmerino* was endeavouring to procure the Hands of the *Scotish* Nobility and Gentry to. In this Petition the *Scots* are made to express their Dislike of several Acts of Parliament that had pass'd, empowering his Majesty, with the Consent of the Clergy, to prescribe what Apparel they should wear in time of Divine Service, and authorizing him with a competent Number of the Clergy, to make Laws and Constitutions in relation to Ecclesiastical Affairs; and they acquaint his Majesty, that if he does make use of the Authority given him by those Acts to introduce any thing new in Matters of Religion, that he would endanger losing the Hearts of many of his Subjects.

They also represented, that no just Prince ever censur'd his Subjects for giving their Votes; and that the Notes his Majesty took of the Names of those who dissented from such Acts as had passed that Session he was in *Scotland*, and his refusing to hear the Reasons of those who dissented, made them very apprehensive of Innovations intended to be introduced in the Kirk.

And

And they charge him also with squandering away the Supplies granted in Parliament, and the Revenues of the Crown of *Scotland* upon his extravagant Courtiers; and affirm, that he allowed the printing of Books of Popery and Arminianism in *England*, and suppress'd the Answers to them, and suffered Arminianism to be preach'd in *Scotland* without Censure. That he admitted Papists to sit in Parliament contrary to Law. That these Things had occasioned great Fears and Perplexities in the Minds of his Subjects. They were ready to condescend to his Majesty in any thing, they said, that did not break in upon their Religion and Laws, and complain of Abuses in the Coin, and of his Majesty's slighting their Representations of their Grievances. Upon this Petition, the Indictment of the Lord *Balmerino* was founded, of which Proceedings the Reader will find a particular Account in the *State-Trials*. It seems, the reflecting on the Administration, or harbouring, or concealing those that do, by the Laws of *Scotland*, is Capital, of which Offences this Lord was legally convicted, but afterwards pardon'd by his Majesty. However, the Bishop here gives us a pretty just Specimen of Presbyterian Loyalty, for he says, upon the Condemnation of this Lord, it was resolv'd to break open the Prison, and set him at Liberty; or if they fail'd in that Attempt, to revenge his Death both upon the Court and the Jurors who convicted him: Some undertaking to kill them, and others to burn their Houses; and he would have us believe the King was so terrify'd with these Resolutions, that he dare not refuse *Balmerino* his Pardon; and adds, that that Lord never look'd upon himself under any Obligation to his Majesty for giving him his Life. In which grateful Behaviour, it seems, he is justify'd and applauded by our Author, and the Brethren.

The Bishop proceeds to give some Account of the introducing the *English* Liturgy and Ceremonies in *Scotland*, and blames the King, that while he was about to make such considerable Alterations in that Church, he rais'd no Forces to maintain what he was about to do, but trusted the Execution of it to the Civil Power. He adds, that the *Scots* who returned from the Court of *England*, disappointed of their Expectations, confirmed that People in their disloyal and rebellious Principles by their Complaints of the King's inexorable Stiffness, and of the Progress Popery was making in his Court. That these things were infused into the People, even by some of the King's Ministers, under-hand, and particularly by the Earl of *Traquair*, who, notwithstanding he appeared publickly most zealous for introducing the *English* Liturgy, when that Kingdom first oppos'd his Majesty's Proclamations, and protested against them, drew up the first Protestation of the *Malecontents*. The Bishop is of Opinion, that a Troop of Horse, or a single Regiment of Foot, might at that time have prevented all the Mischief that ensued, or rather have rendred the King arbitrary in that Kingdom; but he observes, that those who were in the Administration then, had as little of the *Prudence of the Serpent*, as of the *Innocence of the Dove*.

And concludes, that the Violence with which that People so unanimously oppos'd the Administration, convinced him, that the Provocations must be very great that were given them by the Court.

R E M A R K S.

King *Charles's* Character I shall speak to hereafter; but what our Author means by mentioning King *James's* hunting, and drinking, and breaking out

out into Indecencies at those times, as if he had been some drunken Fox-hunter, methinks seems a little indecent in this Reverend Writer, when that King is acknowledged by all to have been temperate in his Exercises and Diet, and not intemperate in his drinking. Do sober Men use to forget themselves and break out into Indecencies? Or what are we to understand by that Term, if he would not insinuate, that the King was really given to Intemperance? But this may serve as a Specimen of our Author's ingenuous Insinuations.

That the Bishop design'd the Relation he gives us of King *Charles's* endowing the *Scotish* Bishopricks as a Reflection on him, is pretty apparent: For, first he tells us, the Abby-Lands he purchased for that Purpose were purchased with *English* Money; then he insinuates, that there was under-hand dealing with the Families of *Hamilton* and *Lenox*; that they should pretend they resigned their Church-Lands voluntarily; but to put it past doubt, he tells us afterwards, that the King intended to extort them from the present Possessors *by force*, if they would not part with ~~with~~ them voluntarily.

Whereupon he says, his Countrymen piously resolv'd to knock the Earl of *Nithsdale* on the Head, (who was sent on that Errand) with all his Party, *after the old Scotch manner*, and no wonder if the Earl, discovering their Intentions, return'd without executing his Commission: Now admitting the King did really design to resume those Lands which had been in a rebellious and tumultuous manner extorted from the Church, and to apply them to so pious a Use, I cannot discern any great Immorality in it; nor can I think the knocking the King's Commissioner on the Head after the *Scotish* manner for demanding them, would have been much more defensible than the first sacrilegious seizing them.

But

But I am very apt to believe the King had never any Design to take the Church-Lands from those who possess'd them, *by force*; for it appears from my Lord *Clarendon*, whom our Author allows to be a faithful Historian, that the King really purchased those Lands the Bishop mentions of the Duke of *Lenox*; nor was it pretended that he surrendred them voluntarily, without any Consideration, to set an Example to others: All that noble Historian says, is, that the Duke of *Lenox* sold the Estate the cheaper, that it might be apply'd to so pious a Use as the Augmentation of the Bishoprick of *Edinburgh*, which his Majesty at that time erected; though this is made a Subject of very great Complaint, and represented as a most heinous indirect Practice. Had the same Lands been apply'd to endow a Meeting-house, or encourage Schism and Rebellion, as his own Charities were frequently directed, possibly we had had fewer Complaints.

Nor is it to be conceived how our Author comes to give the Lord *Clarendon* and his History such an extraordinary Character, who treats of these Matters in so different a manner from himself. That noble Historian, p. 82. mentioning the King's Design of establishing Episcopacy in *Scotland*, says, "The King, who with his Father's other Virtues, inherited his Zeal for Religion, propos'd nothing more to himself, than to unite his three Kingdoms in one Form of God's Worship and publick Devotions; and when he went down to *Scotland* to be crown'd, carried with him the Resolution to finish that important Business in the Church at the same time; and adds, that many wise Men were then, and still are, of Opinion, that if the King had then propos'd the Liturgy of the Church of *England* to have been received and practis'd by

Vol. II. Y "that

An EXAMINATION of

“ that Nation, it would have been submitted to
 “ without Opposition; but upon mature Delibera-
 “ tion, the King concluded it was not a proper
 “ Season.

This is treating a Crown'd Head with some Decency. Here is no Study or Labour used to cast invidious Reflections upon the most innocent and commendable Actions, as our Author endeavours in this and every other Account he gives of the *Stuart* Family. He seems determined, that none of those Princes shall be remembred for any one good Quality, and that every thing that had any Appearance of Virtue in them, was only the Effect of some sinister Views.

The Act that passed in *Scotland*, empowering his Majesty to prescribe Apparel to Churchmen, must certainly go much against the Grain of the Kirk; but why our Author, who was *always Episcopal*, should be so alarm'd at the Thing himself, and the manner of obtaining it, is something mysterious. He says, the Earl of *Rothes* affirmed there was a Majority against it, after the Clerk-Register had counted the Numbers, and declar'd the Majority was for it; whereupon the King reply'd, the Clerk-Register's Declaration must stand, unless the Earl would have accus'd him of falsifying a Record, which he did not care to do, apprehending the Consequence; and so the Act received the Royal Assent, which is look'd upon as no less than a Subversion of the Constitution by our Bishop, and consequently would have justify'd an Insurrection in his Opinion; but surely had there really been a Majority against the Bill, the Earl could have run no great Hazard in affirming it; he would have been sufficiently skreen'd by a Majority of the House against the Resentment of the Court; and his declining to stand the Scrutiny, is a Demonstration to me, that he

he was at least doubtful of his Assertion. And it is further observable, that this Lord *Rothes* was one of those whom my Lord *Clarendon* takes Notice, oppos'd his Majesty in every thing, in order to render himself popular among the Kirk-Party; and nothing could conduce more to that end, than the endeavouring to invalidate the Force of an Act which would have reduc'd them to Order and Decency, which of all other Things, they seem'd to have the greatest Aversion to.

The Report of resuming the Church-Lands, the Bishop observes, soon improv'd into a Belief, that nothing less was designed than the introducing Popery, which so turn'd the Heads of that People, that they have hardly recover'd their Senses to this Day. The bare pronouncing that single Word, *Popery*, infallibly throws a Member of the Kirk into Fits, as it is apparent it has often done our Reverend Author; and his Friends are apt to think, that it was in some of these Fits he utter'd this Flood of Inconsistencies and Contradictions, which go under the Name of *The History of his own Times*, they so little resemble some of his former Writings.

As to the Case of *Balmerino*, I refer the Reader to the *State-Trials*, and what has been said before. It seems he was legally convicted of High-Treason according to the Laws of *Scotland*, and his Majesty granted him a Pardon, which our Author says, the King was under a Necessity of doing; and therefore insinuates, that this was not an Act of Compassion or Clemency in the King, or a Grace for which that Lord ought to make any grateful Returns, but justifies him in that Enmity which he afterwards expressed to the Royal Family. And according to our Author, whenever this Prince extended Mercy to a Traytor, it was not an Act of Choice, but Necessity, or to bring about some vile Design.

Design. On the other hand, if he let the Law take its Course, and the Criminal was executed, then was he cruel and tyrannical; and in short, whatever Measures his Majesty took, it is apparent this Reverend Bishop could have advis'd him better, tho' he thinks nothing more absurd and unbecoming than to see a Divine engage in Politicks.

The next thing our Author mentions, indeed comes properly enough under his Consideration, namely, the framing a Liturgy for the Church of Scotland; but if the Compilers had waited till this Gentleman had approved their Management, the Kirk had never been disturbed with a Form of Words to this Day; for if I understand him right, he had rather play Prizes (as another Reverend Author has it) at *extempore* Prayer, than have submitted to any Form, though dictated by an Angel.

He proceeds to grin at the Administration for not raising an armed Force to establish Episcopacy, as was hinted above. The *Turks*, he observed, advanced their Religion by the Sword. The Presbyterians arm'd themselves, and rebell'd against their Sovereign to establish their Kirk. The Papists had their Inquisition, &c. and what a Weakness was it in his Majesty to expect, that any Religion, how reasonable soever, should make its Way by dint of Argument without Legions to support it? What if our Saviour condemns the Use of the Sword in religious Matters, bids us *be wise as Serpents, and harmless as Doves*, had he lived in our Days, *Gilbert Burnet* could have taught him better.

His Inference, That great must have been the Violence which could provoke that peaceable Generation so *unanimously* to rebel, will be of very little Weight with those who know how small a Pretence wou'd serve them to throw off their Allegiance; and I presume, the principal Reason why
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our Author makes this *general* Conclusion is, because he had nothing in particular to offer that could give a just Colour to the Rebellion of his Brethren.

A B R I D G M E N T.

After this last happy Remark, our Author is pleas'd to pass over several Years, and give us an Account of some secret Transactions between the Lord *Saville* and the Earls of *London* and *Dumfrieslin*, when they were sent to *London* with a Remonstrance from the Covenanters, after the first Treaty of Pacification with the *Scots*. The Lord *Saville*, he says, encourag'd these Lords to march with their Army into *England*, and shew'd them an Engagement under the Hands of the most considerable Men in *England*, to join with them, if they would advance towards the *South*, and refuse any Treaty but what should be confirm'd by the Parliament of *England*: and this Paper, thus sign'd, our Author says, they sent down to their Friends in *Scotland*; that it was shewn to the Earl of *Rothes*, the Earl of *Argyle*, and to *Waristoun*, in whom the Covenanters most confided, and was communicated by them to the rest; tho' the Bishop assures us that the whole was a Cheat and Imposition upon the *English* Gentlemen, for that the Lord *Saville* forg'd the Names of every Man that was set to this Engagement.

He proceeds to give us the Characters of the three Chiefs of the Covenanters above-mention'd; the Earl of *Rothes*, he says, was a Man of Pleasure, of a most obliging Behaviour, but necessitous, insomuch that Archbishop *Spotswood* had once bought him off for the King; that he had too much Levity in his Temper, and in short, he was a Libertine, tho' at the Head of the godly Party. The

Earl of *Argyle*, he says, was a more solemn sort of Man, grave, sober, calm, free from all scandalous Vices, and pretending to high Degrees of Piety; ambitious of raising his own Family, and of being a sort of King in the *Highlands*. *Waristoun*, the Author's Uncle, he tells us, was a Man of great Application, seldom slept above three Hours in the Night, studied the Law diligently, had a great Quickness of Thought, and an extraordinary Memory; he would be many Hours in a Day at his Devotions, pray'd *extempore* in his Family two Hours at a time, and was furnish'd with an inexhaustible Fund of Matter; and whatever struck his Fancy during those Effusions, he look'd on as an Answer of Prayer, and was wholly determined by it: The setting up the Covenant, he look'd upon to be the setting Christ in his Throne, and was immeasurably zealous in it. He had no Ambition to raise his Family, tho' very numerous; Presbytery to him was more than all the World; that he spoke readily and vehemently, which made him considerable in all publick Assemblies. These were the Chiefs of the Covenanters; the first necessitous and mercenary, the second an ambitious Hypocrite, and the third a perfect Enthusiast; and by these were the Saints play'd against the Government. The *Scotts* Army, our Author proceeds to tell us, march'd into *England* with very poor Accommodations; they had no occasion, it seems, for Bread-Waggons and Carriages, which are esteem'd so absolutely necessary in other Armies; but every Soldier carried a Week's Provision of Oatmeal at his Back, and drove Herds of *Scottish* Runts before them, which serv'd for Food. Their Great Guns were made of white Iron tinn'd, and bound round with Leather Thongs, and were so light as to be carried on Horseback. They would not bear more than two or three Discharges

Discharges, he tells us, and that the *English* were so surpriz'd with them when they came to *Newburn* (not imagining there could be Artillery where there were no Carriages) that they quitted the Ford they should have defended, and fled several Miles before they look'd behind them. Whereupon the *Scots* possess'd themselves of *Newcastle*, the County of *Northumberland*, and the whole Bishoprick of *Durham*, and having the Collieries in their Hands, had it in their Power to have distress'd the Citizens of *London*, if they had not look'd upon them as their fast Friends; but as it was concerted among the Brethren, the City and several Counties only made this a Pretence to petition for a Treaty with the *Scots*. These Petitions were deliver'd by the Lord *Wharton*, and the Lord *Howard* of *Esrick*, for which they were taken into Custody; and the Bishop assures us it was resolv'd in a Council of War to shoot them at the Head of the Army; and imputes this to the Advice of the Earl of *Strafford*, but tells us, the Fears of a Mutiny sav'd these noble Peers. About this time the Lord *Saville's* Forgery was discover'd, he says; but the King, notwithstanding, thought fit to trust him with his Affairs, and make him Earl of *Sussex*.

Our Author rightly observes, that the Success of the *Scots* was the Ruin of the King's Affairs, and that a military Force seems necessary to keep his Countrymen within the Bounds of their Duty.

The King, he says, was now in great Straits, and tho' his Majesty had laid up 700000 *l.* before the Rebellion happen'd in *Scotland*, he had rais'd no Guards or Forces in *England*, but trusted an illegal Administration to a legal Execution: his Treasure was exhausted, his Subjects provok'd, his Ministry terrify'd by the Parliament, and that he had not the Dexterity to extricate himself out of this Distress;

strefs; that he was averſe to prudent and moderate Councils, and lov'd rough Meaſures, but had neither the Skill to conduct them, or a Height of Genius to manage them; that his Heart was wholly turn'd to the gaining the two Armies, and that he brought over to his Intereſt the Earls of *Rothes* and *Montroſe*. The Character of the Earl of *Rothes* we have before; the Earl of *Montroſe*, he ſays, was young, had a good Share of Learning, and had travell'd, but acted too much the Part of a Hero, and gave great Faith to Fortune-tellers, who promis'd him glorious Succeſs for a time, but bid him expect Ruin in the End: That the Earl, not being conſider'd as he thought he deſerv'd, on his Return from his Travels, endeavour'd to render himſelf popular among the diſaffected, and was one of the firſt that oppos'd the Government, and that he both advis'd and drew the Letter to the King of *France*, for which the Earl of *London* was committed to the *Tower*; and that when he came into the King's Intereſt he made his Majeſty believe he could bring over the whole Kingdom with him. In ſhort, that he undertook to do great Service to the Royal Cauſe, but in truth could do nothing.

R E M A R K S.

This Forgery of the Lord *Saville's* our Author formerly touch'd upon, in his Memoirs of Duke *Hamilton*. He there acquaints us, that a certain *Engliſh* Nobleman, whoſe Name he is pleas'd to conceal, went to the *Scots* Commiſſioners, the Lords *London* and *Dumferlin*, at *London*, and with great Vehemence preſs'd them to enter into a new War; and to induce them to comply with this Advice, brought them an Engagement in Writing, ſign'd by the greateſt Peers in *England*, that they would join
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the *Scots* upon their advancing *Southward*; which had no small Influence, he says, on his Countrymen; tho' it was afterwards discover'd to be a Cheat. The Nobleman that did his Majesty and the Nation this piece of Service, our Author tells us in this Work, was the Lord *Saville*, whom the King, notwithstanding, created Earl of *Sussex*; which is something strange, if he was guilty of the Practices the Bishop charges him with, and was discover'd to be so: besides, the *Scots* seem to have had Encouragement enough from their Brethren in *England*, without the Engagement our Author mentions. *Whitlock* says, at their Arrival at *London* there was great Resort to them, and many secret Councils held by them with the disaffected *English*; and particularly we are told that the Earls of *Essex*, *Bedford* and *Holland*, the Lord *Say*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Pym*, and many other Lords and Gentlemen of the greatest Interest and Quality, were deep in with them, so that the *Scots* could not have wanted Assurances of the Readiness of the *English* Malecontents to join them, if there had been no such Engagement formally drawn up; and it is a little strange that if there was such an Instrument drawn up and sign'd, that the *Scots* Commissioners should never converse with the abovementioned Noblemen upon that Subject, which must immediately have laid open the Forgery, if it was one. In short, whether there was such an Engagement or not, or whether it was forg'd or not, is not very material to any but the Relations of that noble Lord who is charg'd with the Contrivance; for no body doubts the Readiness of the Disaffected to join the *Scots*, or the Assurances they had of it, without which they never durst have cross'd the *Tweed*.

My Lord *Clarendon* observes, that the *Scots* Commissioners were caress'd even by both Houses of Parliament,

liament, with all possible Expressions of Kindness, if not of *Submission*; and an Order was entred, that upon all Occasions the Appellation should be us'd of *Our Brethren of Scotland*: Whereupon wonderful kind Compliments pass'd of sincere Resolution of Amity and Friendship between the two Nations; so that methinks this pretended Forgery of the Lord *Saville's* was altogether needless. But however that Matter was, the *Scots*, it seems, soon after advanc'd towards *Newcastle*; of which our Author has given us a very merry Account. Could our Soldiers have been perswaded in the last War to have march'd thus, without any other Provision than a Bag of Oatmeal at their Backs, as these *North Britons* did upon this Enterprize, twelve Pence in the Pound would have defrayed the whole Expence of the War, and we had been too hard for the *French*, even in point of Parsimony: And what may not a People undertake, who can make Breakfast, Dinner and Supper upon a little Oatmeal stirr'd in the first Puddle they come at? But possibly the Expectation of a sudden Change for *English* Beef, and a less rigorous Climate, gave a particular Relish to their Watergruel, and inspir'd them with a more than ordinary Resolution. I don't wonder that according to the Credulity of those Times, the *English* apprehended there was Witchcraft in the Case, when the *Scots* attack'd them; for was an Army ever known before to march without Baggage, and attended too by a Train of Artillery without Carriages? Any Man alive would conclude the Devil assisted them; and for ought I know, our Author rightly enough imputes the Defeat at *Newburn* to such Apprehensions as these.

As to the Advice of the Earl of *Strafford*, for shooting the Lord *Wharton* and the Lord *Howard*, who undertook to deliver Petitions from the Disaffected,

fects; for a Treaty with the *Scots*, this seems to be a Piece of secret History, wholly our Author's own, as well as what he adds, that it was the Fear of a Mutiny alone that prevented their Execution. They were *clapt up*, 'tis true, according to our Author's Phrase, when he would insinuate that any of the Brethren were unjustly committed, but whether they would have met with milder Treatment under any Government, when they were known to have corresponded with the Enemy, and promoted the Invasion of their Country, I very much question.

That the Success of the *Scots* was the Ruin of the King's Affairs, is not to be doubted: But why our Author should fall so severely upon the whole Nation, his Friends and Countrymen too, as to affirm, that a Military Power was necessary to keep them within the Bounds of their Duty, and insinuate, that they have no Notion of submitting to their Governors for Conscience sake, is not easily to be conceiv'd, nor are they much obliged to him for the Suggestion: Even a Stranger would have given them better Quarter. Another Man probably would have ascribed the Insurrection to the Arts of designing Men, to a Spirit of Enthusiasm that reign'd at that time, or some unforeseen Accidents, rather than to a constant Disposition in that People to rebel. To proceed,

It is very observable, that while our Author charges the King with being inclined to rough and arbitrary Measures, he is perpetually upon the Sneeer, that he should endeavour to support such an Administration by the Civil Power in both Kingdoms, and not so much as raise a Regiment of Guards for his Defence. But surely nothing can better demonstrate the Justness of his Majesty's Intentions, and the Regard he had to the Liberties of the People,

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than his Backwardness to introduce a Military Force, notwithstanding the Insults and Provocations he met with. What could have induced him thus to neglect his own Preservation, but a Sense that a standing Army must ruin the Constitution? and instead of governing a free People affectionate to his Person, he must thenceforward become a King of Slaves, who as long as they retain'd any Remembrance of their lost Liberties, would not fail to conspire his Ruin: and whatever Designs against their Liberty the Nation might formerly have been apprehensive of, the Bishop acknowledges, that by the Concessions the King made, *the quiet and honest Part of the Nation were satisfy'd*, and look'd upon their Religion and Properties well secur'd. From whence an ordinary Reader would infer, that the King's Enemies were really a turbulent knavish Generation, who had other Views than the securing their own Rights. But he adds, that those Concessions of the King's were not seasonably made, but extorted from him; and there were good Grounds to believe that he intended to stand to them no longer than he was forced. From whence he seems to infer, that the turbulent and seditious Part of the Nation were in the right not to rely upon them, and that the quiet honest Men he mention'd before were a Pack of Fools.

But if other Concessions could not convince the Brethren of his Majesty's Sincerity, surely the delivering up the Lord *Strafford* and his whole Ministry into their Hands, will be allow'd a sufficient Condescension, and abundantly demonstrate his passionate Concern to maintain the Tranquility of his Dominions; and however the like Conduct may be charged as a Weakness on any succeeding Prince that has seen King *Charles's* Fate; yet since it proceeded from too charitable an Opinion of his Subjects,

jects, that they would be satisfy'd when they saw him ready to submit the Actions of his greatest Ministers to the strictest Examination, and there had been no Precedent of a Prince dethron'd and murder'd after such unbounded Concessions, little Apology need be made for this unhappy Step : But let our Author proceed to multiply his vile Insinuations against the Great and Good, he has given the World so black a Character of himself, that his Applause will probably, for the future, be much more dreaded than his Reflections ; and it will be esteemed an Honour to have no Share in his Favour. How he comes to speak well of the Earl of *Clarendon*, whose History is a full Confutation of great part of his own, is not easy to account for, unless he hop'd to derive some Credit upon himself, by professing an Esteem for that great Man.

A B R I D G M E N T.

From the Administration in *England*, we are led to consider the new Model of the Kirk of *Scotland* : They introduc'd, our Author tells us, a Mixture of ruling Elders to be a Check on their Ministers in the managing the Parochial Discipline, who never came into their Assemblies till 1638, when it was thought necessary to bring them in, to carry the Elections of Ministers, and that afterwards they sat there upon all Occasions : These consisted at first of the Nobility and Persons of Quality, but the Ministers thinking they took too much upon them, about the beginning of the Rebellion, brought in a Pack of fiery Zealots, compos'd of the lower Sort of People, whom they had wrought up for their Purpose, and one of these attended on all Judicatories. They had Synods, he says, in several Counties that met twice a Year, and a general Assembly,

Assembly once a Year; at their rising they named some of their Body, called the Commission of the Kirk, which sat during the Intervals of their Sessions, to take care of the Affairs of the Kirk, and inspect Matters of State as far as they related to Religion. These, he says, became exceeding terrible to their Enemies, being vested with an almost uncontrollable Power.

Their Preachers, he adds, in their Sermons and Prayers, us'd to examine all the Transactions of State, and recommended or complain'd of them to God Almighty as they were agreeable or disagreeable to their Taste; insomuch, that the Pulpit was a *Scene of Noise and Passion*.

He proceeds to give the Characters of their most popular Preachers. *Henderson*, he says, was the gravest and wisest of them, but even he was flat and heavy; and when the more zealous Enthusiasts had gain'd the Rabble from him, and they were no longer under his Management, he sicken'd and dy'd of Grief.

Douglas, another of them, he says, had an Air of Greatness, and was thought to be descended from some Bastard of the Royal Line. He was grave and reserved, but a Slave to Popularity, and durst not own his own Opinion, for fear of offending the People.

The rest of them affected Sublimities in Devotion, and with loud Bellowings, and many Tears, often pour'd out their Prayers. They were Men, he says, of little Learning; some Controversial Books against the *Papists*, but principally the *Arminians*, were the Height of their Studies: True Morality was little studied or esteem'd by them; but they affected above all Things to render themselves popular.

They compell'd every one to sign the Covenant, to which a Majority of the Episcopal Clergy, and two of the Bishops themselves conformed, and renounc'd their former Principles, and were receiv'd

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into their Body ; but afterwards, he says, they endeavoured to purge their Kirk of the Episcopal Clergy, and term'd all who differ'd from them Malignants. The appearing Strictness of their Lives, which, he says, had gain'd them the Esteem of the People at first, wore off in a little time, and was succeeded by a Fierceness of Temper, long Prayers, and longer Sermons, which were the distinguishing Character of the Faction ; and some of them, he says, would be a whole Hour in saying Grace, before, as well as after Meat.

This Account of the Kirk, and of the Fanatick Preachers, seems so very just, that it needs no Remarks.

When the War broke out in *England*, our Author tells us, his Countrymen had a great Mind to come into it ; particularly the decay'd Nobility, the Ministers, and the Military Men were zealous for it. They reflected, he says, on the good Quarters they had formerly possess'd in the *North of England*, and hoped to have the Umpirage of the War, and that the Division being pretty near equal in *England*, they should be courted on both Sides, and might draw Advantages from it. That Duke *Hamilton*, who was trusted by his Majesty with the Affairs of that Kingdom, had secret Instructions to offer to the *Scots*, if they would engage on the King's Side, that *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Westmoreland*, should be united to *Scotland* ; that *Newcastle* should be made the Seat of the Government, and the Prince of *Wales* always have his Court amongst them ; and every Office of the Household should in the third Turn be given to a *Scot*. This Account, he says, indeed was not to be found among Duke *Hamilton's* Papers, but the Earl of *Linderdale* told him, that at the *Isle of Wight* they had all the Assurances of it that the King could give.

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He tells us, Duke *Hamilton* soon perceived that Kingdom would never engage in the King's Quarrel; and that all he could do, was to keep them *neuter*, which he did till the Year 1643; and when he found it was impossible to stem the Tide longer, it was agreed, that the Nobility should seem to fall in heartily with the Bent of the Nation; and having by this means procured themselves Command in the Army, where they would have an Opportunity of acting as a distinct Body from the rest of the *Scots* Nation, it would be much easier for them to bring over the Army to the King's Interest, than to work on that whole Kingdom.

Our Author is of Opinion, that this Conduct would probably have had the desir'd Effect, if *Montrose*, and the profess'd Royalists, had not in the Year 1643, entred into an open War, whose Measures Duke *Hamilton* would never come into, as believing he should expose the King's Affairs by such a desperate Proceeding. It was upon this, he says, that the *Hamiltons* were charg'd with Treachery by the Royalists at *Oxford*, and were never admitted to make their Defence; and it is the Bishop's Opinion, that if the younger *Hamilton* had not made his Escape, they would both infallibly have been executed; though they could have demonstrated, he tells us, if they had been heard, that they were sure of two Parts in three of the *Scottish* Army. He adds, that the Marquis of *Montrose's* Success contributed also to the Ruin of the King's Affairs in *England*; for the Presbyterians dreaded nothing so much as to see the King's Affairs re-established by the Cavaliers.

He thinks his Majesty was in the wrong not to close with the Offers of the *English* Presbyterians, for tho' they ask'd things that were unreasonable, they were forc'd, he says, to make those Demands

or they would have lost their Credit with the People; that Matters were come to such an Extremity, that Peace was to be preferr'd on any Terms; and if a Peace should follow, any ungrateful Articles might afterwards be alter'd by the Legislature. That the King, and many of his Council, seeing his Affairs decline, and observing the Insolence of the Military Men, who daily reproach'd him with their Services, were satisfy'd with the Representations of the Presbyterians; but Advice coming of *Montrose's* Success, the King put such Limitations upon the Commissioners he sent to treat at *Uxbridge*, as rendered that Negotiation fruitless.

Montrose, he acknowledges, made a great Progress in *Scotland*, but took no Care, he tells us, to secure his Conquests, by possessing himself of the Passes and fortify'd Places; that the *Macdonalds* who had join'd him, and had been concerned in the *Irish* Massacre, exasperated the People by their Plunder and Ravages, as did *Montrose*, by wasting the Lands of the *Hamiltons* his Enemies. He adds, that the Marquis was so exalted with his Victory at *Kilsyth*, that he wrote to the King, that he had gone over the Land from *Dan* to *Beerseba*, and addresses his Majesty in the Words of *Joab* to *David*, viz. *Come thou and take the City, lest I take it, and it be called by my Name*; but he was soon after routed, and his Papers seiz'd, and this among the rest, before ever it was sent.

The victorious Kirk, he says, upon their Success, murder'd many of the Royalists in cold Blood, to whom they had given Quarter, upon some Discoveries they made in the Marquis's Papers; and several Persons of Quality were condemned whom they found to be concern'd with them, against whom they proceeded with unusual Severity and Indignities. The Preachers curs'd those who had

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done the Work of the Lord deceitfully; and those that shewed any Mercy or Tenderness were guilty, they said, of the Blood that had been shed; and upon every Execution that Text was in their Mouths, viz. *Thine Eye shall not pity, Thou shalt not spare, &c.* and insinuated with Colour, says the Bishop, that the King was concern'd in the *Irish* Massacre, from *Montrose's* joining *Macdonald* who had been one of that Gang.

R E M A R K S.

The Bishop will easily be believed without calling upon God to attest his Veracity, that his Countrymen were inclinable enough to return to their old Quarters in *England*; but that Duke *Hamilton* had Instructions so early as the Year 1643, to offer them the Counties of *Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland*, to engage them in the King's Interest, I find no manner of Foundation for; the Bishop himself admits, that these Powers were given to the Duke so secretly, that they could not be prov'd, and that there was nothing of this nature to be found in Duke *Hamilton's* Papers: But what induc'd him to believe it, he says, was, the Assurance the Duke of *Lauderdale* gave him, that this was agreed to at the Treaty in the *Isle of Wight* several Years afterwards; and this is the Method our Author frequently takes to prove the Facts he would impose upon us. He looks out for something that has a Resemblance to the thing he is relating, and tacks it to the end of his Tale, though it happened a dozen Years before or after the Occurrence he speaks of; and from the Certainty of the latter infers, that the other is true too; or at least he hopes, by thus jumbling both Stories together, to impose upon the unwary Reader. Now should we admit, that when
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the King was a Prisoner in the *Isle of Wight*, and himself and his whole Dominions entirely at the Mercy of the Usurpers, he made some Concessions, that neither himself or any of his Subjects could have approved in other Circumstances. How does this prove that he made the same Offers, when he was at full Liberty, and before his Affairs had taken that fatal Turn they did afterwards? But further, such a Proposal seems so extremely weak, that it could not be suppos'd the cunning *Scots* would ever be amused by it. They very well knew, that the King without his Parliament could not alienate any Part of his *English* Dominions; all that he could be supposed to promise in this Case, was, to consent to such an Alienation, if the *English* Parliament should agree to it, which was in effect, to promise nothing at all; though what our Author intends by the Suggestion is, no doubt, to cast an Odium on King *Charles I.*

But whatever Instructions Duke *Hamilton* might have, or whatever Proposals he might make, in order to reduce the *Scots* to their Duty, our Author acknowledges it was all in vain. There was little they found to be got by Loyalty; while Pensions and Plunder would probably be the Fruits of their Rebellion: The whole Nation, 'tis true, were not govern'd by these vile Motives; there was a considerable Body of Loyalists, who made noble Efforts under the Conduct of the Marquis of *Montrose*, whom our Author can never forgive for treating his Friends of the Kirk with that Contempt they deserved; and had the *Hamiltons* a little suspended their personal Prejudices, and join'd *Montrose*, it is evident, even from our Author himself, that *Scotland* had been soon reduc'd to his Majesty's Obedience. Duke *Hamilton* indeed, he tells us, would not expose the King's Affairs by joining in

so desperate an Undertaking, but it was plainly the Backwardness of the *Hamiltons* to assist *Montrose* that made the King's Affairs desperate, and prevented the Success of that Enterprize. We have our Author's Word for it, 'tis true, that the *Hamiltons* had engag'd two thirds of the Presbyterian Army in the King's Interest, and that the Brethren in *England* would infallibly have join'd them, had not *Montrose's* Success prevented it; for they dreaded the Restoration of his Majesty by the Cavaliers, it seems; which is a further Inducement to believe, that the Practices of the *Hamiltons*, and their Presbyterian Friends, were the real Occasion of *Montrose's* Defeat, and that the Resentment the Court manifested afterwards, was not altogether unjust. And possibly it will be difficult to assign any one Instance where the Presbyterians of either Nation ever shewed any Inclinations to the Royal Cause, but with a View of establishing Presbytery upon the Ruins of the Church. When the *English* Presbyterians grew apprehensive that the Independents would supplant them, then indeed they would gladly have join'd the *Scots*, in order to prevent their mutual Destruction, and in order to crush both the Church of *England* and Independents at once; but how much, either the King, or the Church, are obliged to them on this Account is pretty evident; probably the Royal Family and the Constitution had been more effectually and irretrievably destroy'd by the Brethren, if they had succeeded, than it was by the other Sectaries afterwards.

But one great Objection to *Montrose's* Undertaking, it seems, was his joining the *Macdonalds*, who had been concern'd in the Rebellion in *Ireland*; though our Author acknowledges they came over to *Scotland* on a very innocent Design; namely, to recover the Inheritance of their Ancestors from the Family

Family of *Argyle*, who had wrested it from them by Force. And why the King might not lawfully make use of his *Irish* Subjects, when they return'd to their Duty, against yet more obstinate Rebels, I never heard any Reason given, notwithstanding all the Clamour that has been raised upon that Head. If the *Irish* had been guilty of some barbarous Actions, the Members of the Kirk did not come much short of them.

They murder'd in cold Blood, our Author tells us, many brave Cavaliers, to whom they had given Quarter: They publickly arraign'd and executed the most loyal of his Majesty's Subjects with all the Spite and Ignominy they could invent, only for obeying their Sovereign; and what is most amazing, pretended to be good Subjects at the same time. But their Arts and Hypocrisy are now seen through, and they must no longer hope to divert us from those many barbarous Murders they committed under a Colour of Justice, by ringing the *Irish* Massacre in our Ears. And how slightly or maliciously soever our Author may speak of the Expedition of the Marquis of *Montrose*, that noble Historian, on whose Veracity he assures us we may rely, represents it in a very different manner.

“ The Earl of *Montrose*, he says, took his Leave
 “ of the King with several Gentlemen, as if they
 “ meant to make their Way together into *Scotland*.
 “ But the Earl, after he had continued his Journey two or three Days in that Equipage, which
 “ he knew could be no Secret, and that it would
 “ draw the Enemy's Troops together for the
 “ Guard of all Passes to meet with him, was found
 “ missing one Morning by his Company; who
 “ after some Stay and Enquiry, return'd back to

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“ *Oxford*, whilst that noble Person, with incredible
 “ Address and Fatigue, had not only quitted his
 “ Company and his Servants, but his Horse also,
 “ and found a safe Passage for the most part on Foot,
 “ through all the Enemy’s Quarters, till he came
 “ to the very Borders; from whence, by the As-
 “ sistance of Friends, whom he trusted, he found
 “ himself secure in the *Highlands*; where he lay
 “ quiet without undertaking any Action until the
 “ Marquis of *Antrim*, by the Countenance and As-
 “ sistance of the Marquis of *Ormond*, did make good
 “ so much of his Undertaking, that he sent over
 “ *Alexander Macdonnel*, a stout and an active Officer,
 “ (whom they call’d by an *Irish* Appellation *Calkito*)
 “ with a Regiment of fifteen hundred Soldiers,
 “ who landed in the *Highlands* in *Scotland*, at or
 “ near the Place that had been agreed on; and where
 “ the Earl of *Montrose* was ready to receive them,
 “ which he did with great Joy, and quickly pub-
 “ lish’d his Commission of being General for the
 “ King over all that Kingdom. With this hand-
 “ ful of Men, he brought in so many of his own
 “ Countrymen to join with him, as were strong
 “ enough to arm themselves at the Charge of their
 “ Enemies; whom they first defeated, and every
 “ Day encreas’d in Power, till he fought and pre-
 “ vail’d in so many several Battles, that he made
 “ himself upon the Matter Master of the Kingdom;
 “ and did all those stupendious Acts, which de-
 “ servedly are the Subject of a History by it
 “ self.

As to the Treaty of *Uxbridge* being render’d
 fruitless by his Majesty’s putting any unreasonable
 Limitations or Restrictions on his Commissioners,
 upon Advice of *Montrose*’s Success, this Transaction
 also appears equally misrepresented, if we are to give
 any Credit to the same noble Historian above-
 mention’d,

mentioned, who was one of those Commissioners :
He has given us to understand that the Commis-
sioners for the Parliament were not to be satisfy'd
with any Concessions the King could make: " The
" King's Commissioners, he says, prepar'd and de-
" liver'd a very full Answer in Writing to all their
" Demands, at the Delivery whereof they appoint-
" ed the Chancellor of the *Exchequer* to enlarge up-
" on any of those Particulars which proved the
" Counsels that had been taken just and necessary.
" This he did so particularly and convincingly,
" that those of the Parliament were in much Con-
" fusion, and the King's Commissioners much
" pleas'd. He put them in mind of their bringing
" those very Troops which were levied by the
" King's Authority, for the Suppression of the
" Rebellion in *Ireland*, to fight against the King at
" *Edge-hill*, under the Command of the Earl of
" *Essex*; of their having given over the Prosecu-
" tion of that War, or sending any Supply of
" Arms, Money or Ammunition thither, having
" employ'd those Magazines which were provided
" for that Service, against his Majesty ; inso-
" much as the Privy Council of that Kingdom had sent
" to his Majesty that he would provide some other
" Way for the Preservation of that Kingdom,
" since they could not be able to support the War
" any longer against the united Power of the Re-
" bels. That all Overtures which his Majesty had
" made towards Peace, had been rejected by the
" Parliament, and one hundred thousand Pounds
" brought in by the Adventurers for *Ireland*, had
" been sent in one entire Sum into *Scotland*, to
" prepare and dispose that Kingdom to send an Ar-
" my to invade this, which they had done; and
" till then his Majesty had not in the least De-
" gree swerv'd from the Observation of that Act

“ of Parliament; but when he saw that the Parlia-
 “ ment, instead of prosecuting the End and Inten-
 “ tion of that Statute, apply’d it wholly to the
 “ carrying on the War against himself, he thought
 “ himself absolv’d before God and Man, if he did
 “ all he could to rescue and defend himself against
 “ their Violence, by making a Cessation with the
 “ Rebels in *Ireland*, and by drawing over some
 “ Regiments of his own Army from thence to as-
 “ sist him in *England*; which Cessation had hither-
 “ to preserv’d the Protestants of that Kingdom,
 “ who were not able without Supplies, to preserve
 “ themselves from the Strength and Power of the
 “ Rebels; which Supplies his Majesty could not,
 “ and the Parliament would not send, and therefore
 “ if the Protestants there should hereafter be op-
 “ press’d by the Rebels, who every Day procur’d
 “ Assistance from Abroad, and so were like to be
 “ more powerful, all the Mischiefs and Misery that
 “ must attend them would before God and Man
 “ be put to the Account of the Parliament, which
 “ had defrauded them of those Supplies which by
 “ his Majesty’s Care had been rais’d and provided
 “ for them; and not to his Majesty, who had
 “ done nothing but what he was oblig’d to do for
 “ his own Preservation: and if he had not sent for
 “ those Soldiers from *Ireland*, they could not have
 “ stay’d there without a Supply of Money, Cloaths
 “ and Provisions, which the Parliament had not yet
 “ sent to that Part of the Army which remained
 “ there, and which could by no other Way have
 “ subsisted, but by the Benefit and Security of the
 “ Cessation.

“ He told them that all this unjustifiable Way
 “ of proceeding, tho’ it had compell’d the King to
 “ yield to a Cessation, yet could not prevail with
 “ him to make a Peace with the *Irish* Rebels, from
 “ whom

whom he had admitted Commissioners to attend
 him with Propositions to that purpose; but that
 when he found those Propositions and Demands
 so unreasonable that he could not consent to them
 in Conscience, and that they were inconsistent
 with the Security of his Protestant Subjects there,
 he had totally rejected them, and dismissed their
 Commissioners with severe and sharp Animadver-
 sions; yet that he had given his Lieutenant and
 Council there, Authority to continue the Cessa-
 tion longer, in hope that the Rebels there might
 be reduc'd to better Temper, or that his Majesty
 might be enabled by a happy Peace here, which
 he hop'd this Treaty would produce, to chastise
 their odious and obstinate Rebellion: and if the
 Parliament would yet give his Majesty sufficient
 Caution that the War should be vigorously pro-
 secuted there against the *Irish*, by sending over
 strong Supplies of Men and Money, he would
 put an End to that Cessation, without declaring
 it to be void; which otherwise he could not in
 Justice do, and the doing whereof would be to
 no purpose.

The Commissioners, visibly out of Countenance,
 and angry, made no other Reply, but that they
 were sorry to find that odious and detestable Re-
 bellion had receiv'd so much Grace, as that Com-
 missioners from it had been admitted into the
 King's Presence; and that they wonder'd there
 should be any Scruple made of declaring that
 Cessation void, that was entred into expressly a-
 gainst the Letter of an Act of Parliament. This
 Reply they gave in Writing, with many pathe-
 tical Expressions against the Murders and Cruel-
 ties that had been used in the beginning of that
 Rebellion; which oblig'd the King's Commis-
 sioners to a little more Sharpness in their Returns;
 than

“ than they were inclin’d to, and to tell them
 “ that they wish’d it were in the King’s Power to
 “ punish all Rebellion with that Severity that was
 “ due to it; but since it was not so, he must con-
 “ descend to Treaties, and to all other Expedients
 “ which are necessary to reduce his Subjects who
 “ are in Rebellion, to return to their Duty and O-
 “ bedience.

And he says there was Reason enough to believe,
 that if the King had yielded to all that was then
 propos’d, they would then have insisted upon all
 they had formerly demanded, and *upon the Delivery*
up of all those Persons who had faithfully serv’d the
King, and had been by them always excepted as Persons
never to be pardon’d. And now let any impartial
 Man judge, whether the Bishop has done Justice
 to the Memory of King Charles, when he insinuates
 that the breaking of the Treaty at *Uxbridge* was oc-
 casion’d by any high or unreasonable Demands made
 by the King, upon the Success of the Marquis of
Montrose.

ABRIDGMENT.

As to the Progress of the Civil War, or the Con-
 fusions that followed, till the Murder of King
 Charles I. our Author says he has nothing particular
 to relate concerning them, except a Passage he had
 from General *Drummond*, who was present when
 the *Scots* Commissioners came to *Cromwell* to protest
 against the King’s Death: he says, they began, in
 a heavy languid Stile, to charge the King with in-
 numerable Crimes; but insisted, that there was a
 Clause in the Covenant, whereby they swore to
 preserve his Majesty’s Person, and many solemn De-
 clarations they had since made of their Zeal and
 Duty to the King, which would now appear, to the

the Reproach of the Christian Name, to have been but false Pretences, if they proceeded to such Extremities. To which *Cromwell* answer'd, that a Breach of Trust in a King ought to be punish'd before any other Crime: That in the Covenant they swore to the Preservation of the King's Person, in *Defence of the true Religion*; but if it appear'd that the Settlement of the true Religion was obstructed by the King, their Oath did not oblige them to preserve him any longer: That the Covenant also bound them to bring all Malignants, Incendiaries, and Enemies to their Cause, to condign Punishment; and how could they punish those who join'd with *Montrose*, who were but small Offenders acting by the King's Commission, and resolve to spare him who was the principal Offender? *Drummond* added, that *Cromwell* was clearly too hard for the *Scots* Commissioners, at their own Weapon, and upon their own Principles.

R E M A R K S.

All the Difference I can discern between *Oliver* and the *Scots* was, whether they should proceed capitally against the King, or not? The *Scots* very readily assisted in the deposing and imprisoning him; neither had they any Thoughts of restoring his Majesty to his just Rights, according to the Lord *Clarendon*: but under the Umbrage of his Name and Authority they hop'd to establish their Kirk, and take the Government into their own Hands, while his Majesty should have remained their Prisoner.

Cromwell, on the other hand, shew'd them, that upon the same Principles they first rebell'd, and laid violent Hands upon their Sovereign, they might proceed to judge and condemn him, as a Criminal

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and

and Malefactor: for if they had no Right to judge their King, then by what Authority had they divested him of his Power, seiz'd upon his strong Towns, his Fleet, his Magazines, and his Revenues, and restrained him of his Liberty, and plunder'd and murder'd those who had adher'd to him? They speciously urg'd, indeed, that the putting his Majesty to Death would alarm the World, and make them look'd upon as a Pack of perjur'd Hypocrites. And no doubt the arraigning and executing a great Prince by his Subjects, who had voluntarily sworn to preserve him, and make him a *glorious King*, was such a Piece of Villany, as the World was not, till then, acquainted with. But whether Death itself was not to be prefer'd to the wretched Life his Majesty must have led under the Tyranny and Insults of the Saints, may be a Question. If they had permitted him to live, he must have been their Prisoner; his Children and Servants would have been banished from him; he should not have been suffer'd even the Exercise of his Religion, his own Chaplains should not have had Access to him; but he should have been surrounded with Presbyterian Fathers, who would daily have reviled and upbraided him with the Idolatry of his House, and charged him with all the Blood that had been spilt during the Rebellion: he must have seen his most faithful Subjects plunder'd, sequester'd and banish'd, and many of them butcher'd before his Eyes, only for adhering to him, or professing the same Religion with himself. This he had experienc'd when he was in Presbyterian Hands; and thus he must have expected to have lingred out a miserable Life, if Presbyterian Mercy had been extended to him; and what brave Man would not have undergone a thousand Deaths rather than have suffer'd these Indignities? What was his Majesty therefore more oblig'd

oblig'd to the *Scots*, than to *Cromwel*? Either of them aimed at their own Establishment; their Compassion to him was equal.

The *Scots* well foresaw that *Cromwel* and the Independents would endeavour to crush them, if the King was taken off; and therefore Self-Preservation, and not the King's, was the true Reason of their opposing his Murder.

A B R I D G M E N T.

When the Parliament of *Scotland* took upon them to rescue the King and the Parliament of *England* from the Force they were under, our Author tells us, all the *Scottish* Nobility but seven or eight came into the Design, the King having sign'd the Agreement above-mention'd, to make over the three *Northern* Counties to that Nation; but the Marquis of *Argyle* giving out that the *Hamiltons* design'd, notwithstanding, to serve the King upon his own Terms, and that they would betray the Interest of the Kirk, the General Assembly declar'd against the Enterprize, and called it, *an unlawful Confederacy with the Enemies of God*; that they preach'd against it, and opposed the Levies that were making, by solemn Curses and Denunciations against all who were concern'd in them; which the good Bishop observes was such an Opposition to the State as was little inferior to what the Church of *Rome* pretended to. Here the Bishop digresses a little, to give us an account of the Rise of the Word *Whig*; which he says comes from *Whiggom*, a Word us'd by the *Scottish* Peasants, to their Horses: for upon the News of Duke *Hamilton's* Defeat, he says the Preachers animated the common People to rise in Arms, and led them to *Edinburgh*, marching with an unheard of Fury, from their several Villages, praying and preaching

preaching all the Way, and were join'd by the Marquis of *Argyle*, *Cromwell's* Creature. This Expedition, he observes, was called the *Whiggamore's* Inroad, and ever after, all that oppos'd the Court were call'd Whigs. This undisciplin'd Herd, as the Bishop calls them, at the Instigation of *Argyle*, sent to *Cromwell* for his Assistance; whereupon the Committee of Estates knowing themselves too weak to oppose them, surrendred up the Government to this godly Rout; who declar'd, that all who had serv'd in the Expedition to *England*, should be disabled to hold any Employment till they had first satisfy'd the Kirk of their Repentance. Whereupon the Churches were fill'd with Mock-penitents, who in Tears acknowledg'd their Errors, to gain Credit with these sanctify'd Usurpers, among whom the Earl of *London* was one; and *Cromwell* soon after came to *Edinburgh*, and establish'd the new Model.

During *Cromwell's* Absence in *Scotland* with his Army, the Parliament set another Treaty on foot with the King at the *Isle of Wight*; but *Vane* and others who were in *Cromwell's* Interest, our Author says, went down among the Commissioners on purpose to delay it till *Cromwell's* Return. These artfully insinuated into the Court, that they should insist upon good Terms, for, that in the Struggles between the House and the Army, the King might make his Advantages; while those who were in the King's Interest advis'd him to grant every thing immediately, that he might be brought up with Honour and Freedom to his Parliament before *Cromwell's* Return; but he says the Cavaliers still hating the Presbyterians, as the Authors of the War, were unwilling to be obliged to them, and the Treaty was render'd ineffectual by a fatal dilatory Management; and *Cromwell* came up to *London* again, and unravell'd all their Schemes.

Here

Here the Bishop gives us an Instance of *Cromwell's* Diffimulation, and his Designs of putting a Force upon the Parliament; which tho' prov'd in the House to his Face by two positive Witnesses, such was his Credit with the Godly, that nothing would be believ'd against his solemn Asseverations and Appeals to God to the contrary. He adds, that when by his hypocritical and artful Address he had extricated himself from that Difficulty, he immediately repair'd to the Army, and in a few Days forc'd his Enemies that had made that unlucky Discovery, out of the House.

The Author had much Discourse, he says, with those who knew *Cromwell*, and that Sett of Men, upon this Subject, and demanded how they could excuse these Prevarications and other wicked Arts they were guilty of in the Conduct of their Affairs. To which it was answer'd, they apprehended some Men were called to great Services, in the executing whereof, they were not ty'd up to the common Rules of Morality, as *Ehud*, *Jael*, *Sampson*, *David*, &c. whom they thought privileg'd from observing vulgar Rules; upon which Principle, the Bishop well observes, that all Mercy and Justice may be laid aside by every bold Enthusiast.

R E M A R K S.

If the *Scotish* Nobility were chiefly influenc'd in their Expedition against *Cromwell*, by the hopes of sharing the *Northern* Counties amongst them, as our Author intimates; or if they were mov'd to join the Royalists upon an Apprehension of being reduced under the Dominion of the *English* Independents, and *Cromwell's* Iron-Yoke; in either Case they have little Merit to plead; the Royal Cause is not much obliged to them.

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They were not indeed so blind, or so malicious as their Whig Countrymen our Author mentions and the Kirk of *Scotland*, who persisted to oppose his Majesty when it was their Interest to serve him and who chose rather to sacrifice their Country to the Usurpers, than to return to their Allegiance. This was indeed the Height of Whiggism, and whatever gave the first rise to the Word Whig, the Bishop has certainly given a very just Description of the Men that they are a People who live in constant Opposition to their Governors (or the Court, as our Author has it.)

The Treaty in the *Isle of Wight* the Bishop seems to think, might have had a good Effect, if it had not been prevented by the fatal Dilatoriness of the Royal Party, and their unreasonable Aversion to the Presbyterians. But so far was his Majesty, or his Friends, from insisting on unreasonable Terms or Delays, that the Concessions which were made in that Treaty, are more difficult to defend, than any other Part of his Majesty's Conduct.

For his Majesty agreed, not only to revoke his Declarations and Commissions granted against the Parliament, but to declare, that the two Houses of Parliament had been necessitated to enter into War in their just and lawful Defence. Upon consenting to this Proposition, his Majesty said, he well foresaw the Aspersions it would expose him to, yet he hoped his good Subjects would confess, that it was but a Part of the Price he had paid for their Benefit and the Peace of his Dominions.

His Majesty further consented to suspend Episcopacy for three Years, and to permit all Persons who desired to take the Covenant and use the Directory, and that Money might be raised out of the Church Lands for the Use of the Publick.

He consented also, that the Usurpers should keep their Troops in Pay, and raise what other Forces they pleas'd, and raise Money to pay their Army by such Ways and Means as they should think fit, &c.

And tho' these do not appear to be sufficient Concessions in Doctor *Burnet's* Opinion, yet they were voted even by that House of Commons a *sufficient Ground for Peace*; and it is amazing to find the ill Success of that Treaty imputed to the Obstinacy, or any affected Delays on the Part of the Court, when he himself tells us, that *Vane* went down with the Commissioners on purpose to delay and obstruct the Treaty; and could the good Bishop observe no insolent Demands, no Hardships put upon his Majesty by the Presbyterians, which might occasion the Delay he mentions, and justify his Majesty's Reluctancy to consent to such Propositions? But this is but one Instance of a thousand of our Author's Partiality to the Brethren, and his inveterate Malice towards the Royal Family.

Cromwell's exquisite Hypocrisy and Address in managing the several Tribes of Bigots and Enthusiasts under his Command, is indeed become the Subject of our Admiration. Other Generals by artfully interpreting Omens and uncommon Accidents, have accomplish'd mighty Things, but none ever knew how to work up the Passions and apply the wild Whimsies of melancholy Men to their particular Designs like this Son of Dissimulation and Atheism. He had well studied the Weakness and Folly peculiar to every Sect, and could direct their Rage and Fury to the Destruction of his Enemies; and when it grew dangerous to himself, as artfully play them against each other. Princes of old sent to consult the Oracles of distant Countries. This Prodigy of a Man was himself the Soldiers Oracle; and if he

said Heaven approv'd his Purpose, they undertook the most hazardous Enterprize as cheerfully, as if an Angel had promis'd them Success. How did the subtle Suggestions of this grand Deceiver animate the lowest of the People, and give them Resolution even beyond what Honour could inspire? They imagined when they engag'd in his Quarrel, that they fought the Lord's Battels, and that by dethroning their Prince they should entitle themselves to Thrones in Heaven; so strong was the Delusion, that they believ'd even Rebellion to be meritorious, and King-killing an Act of Piety, and their great Leader cunningly fell in with their Notion of Inspiration, and encouraged them to believe, that whatever struck their Fancies at their Devotions, was an Answer of Prayer, and to be depended on as a Revelation from Heaven; after which, it was no hard Matter to persuade them they were superior to all Laws and Rules, and privileg'd to break every Command in holy Writ; for every latter Inspiration must be suppos'd to supersede the former. But what mad Work must these wild Notions make in any Government, and what Confusion did they actually create here, after the Man was fallen who had rais'd this evil Spirit, and who alone knew how to restrain and guide the Fury? How ought every State to guard against such destructive Tenets. What Government can stand, when the People shall look upon themselves superior to all Laws human and divine, and are moved by an infernal Impulse, to conspire the Destruction of their Prince, and banish all Decency and Order from the Face of the Earth?

But to return to our grand Deceiver. It was by a dextrous Application of this levelling Principle, that *Cromwell* destroyed our beautiful Constitution, and rais'd himself so much above the Rank

of common Villains: And though it be said this Principle became exceeding troublesome and dangerous to the Usurper himself, when he could no longer disguise his own ambitious Views; and that if he had liv'd a little longer, he would have been unable to have managed the Headstrong Beast; I am apt to think, that by the same Methods he destroy'd his own Prince, he might have shaken foreign States. It is not improbable, that after he had secured the Conquests he had made at home, he would have diverted his Troops from any Attempt against himself, by turning their Arms against some neighbouring Powers, and with an Army of Veterans so disciplin'd, and so inspired, as this Army of Saints were, what might he not have effected? The greatest Kingdoms in *Europe* already trembled at his Nod, and implicitly obey'd his Orders; and had not Heaven cut the Tyrant off, and put a Period to his proud Designs, he had probably extended his Conquests as far as ever *Alexander* or *Cæsar* did, and as effectually have destroy'd the Liberties of his native Country.

A B R I D G M E N T.

As to the King's Trial and Death, the Bishop says, he knows nothing particular that is not to be found in the common Historians. *Ireton* was the Person that drove it on, *Cromwell*, he thinks, was always in Suspense about it. *Ireton* was a perfect *Cassius*, he says, and stuck at nothing to reduce *England* to a Commonwealth. *Fairfax* was distracted in his Mind about it, and chang'd his Purpose every Day. The Presbyterians, and the City, fasted and pray'd for the King's Preservation; but there was a select Body of the Army about the Town, consisting of eight thousand Men, the greatest Zealots and En-

thufiafts among them; thefe were kept at Prayers almoft Day and Night when they were not upon Duty, and were wrought up to a pitch of Fury, that ftruck a Terror into all People, while the King's Party was difpirited, and many of them believ'd his Death was not intended till it was too late to prevent it.

The King himfelf, he tells us, fhew'd a fedate compos'd Firmnefs, which amaz'd all Men, inafmuch, as it was not natural to him, and many were apt to impute this to a fupernatural Affiftance. Bifhop *Juxon* did the Duty of his Office, he fays, honeftly, but with a dry Coldnefs, which could not elevate the King's Thoughts; fo that it muft proceed from fomething within himfelf, that he paff'd through fuch Indignities with fo much true Greatnefs, without either Diforder or Affectation.

In this laft Scene, he fays, the King fhew'd what has been often obferv'd of the whole Race of the *Stuarts*, that they bore Adverfity better than Profperity. The Reign of this Prince, he obferves, was one continued Series of Errors; that he had no Judgment, and was immeafurably fond of his own Humour: That he had too high a Notion of Regal Power, and look'd on all Oppofition to it as Rebellion: That he had a firm Averfion to Popery, but was inclin'd to a middle Way, between Proteftants and Papifts. Here the Bifhop makes a Digreffion about the Affair of *Rochell*, and a Defign of turning the *Netherlands* into a Commonwealth, not much to the Purpofe.

Then he returns to the King's Death, which he obferves, had a different Effect from what *Ireton* expected, as the Earl of *Strafford's* Death had had before, which made his Errors forgot, and raifed his Character, which would have funk on any Sentence

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less severe. The same he observes of Archbishop *Laud*, of whom he takes Occasion to give us this Character: He says he was a learned, sincere and zealous Man, regular in his Life, and humble in his private Deportment, but hot and indiscreet, eagerly pursuing Things that were either inconsiderable or mischievous; such as placing the Communion Table at the *East* End of the Church, bowing to it, and calling it the Altar, and other Things of no Value; and his violent Proceedings in the Star Chamber, and High Commission Court, and his inexcusable Injustice in the Prosecution of Bishop *Williams*, were such Blemishes, he thinks, as nothing but the putting him to Death in so unjust a manner could have rais'd his Character. His Diary, the Bishop observes, makes him an abject Fawner upon the Duke of *Buckingham*, and a superstitious Regarder of Dreams: That his Defence which he wrote in the *Tower* was a mean Performance, and is far from acquitting him to the World; but what gave our Author the strongest Prejudice to his Grace, was, that having been so long at Leisure to reflect upon his past Actions, he does not once acknowledge his Errors, or make any wise or pious Reflections on the ill Usage he met with, or the unhappy Steps he had made; and while his Enemies magnified him by an inhuman Prosecution, *Heylin* and *Wharton* had lessen'd him, by what they publish'd of his Life and Vindication.

But never did cruel Councils, the Bishop observes, more apparently recoil upon the Authors, than in the Death of *Charles I.* whose Christian Deportment in that Hour effac'd the Memory of all former Errors, mov'd the Compassion of the People, and created in them the utmost Detestation of the Actors; and contributed the most of any one thing to the Restoration in 1660.

And the Esteem of the Nation was not a little increas'd for this Prince, he says, by the publishing the Book call'd, *Eikon Basilike*, which went under King *Charles's* Name; but whether he was the Author of it or not, he leaves us in the same Suspence we were before.

Our Author tells us, that the *Scots* having proclaimed King *Charles II.* upon the Death of his Father, sent to treat with the new King at the *Isle of Jersey*, and at the *Hague*, and among their Commissioners was the Earl of *Cassiles*, the Bishop's Wife's Father, a very honest Man, he says, and one of whom his Majesty had a great Opinion; the Duke of *Buckingham* perswaded the King, he tells us, to treat with the *Scots* against the Opinion of most of the Council; and that this noble Lord had a Faculty of turning Persons and Things into Ridicule, beyond any Man; that he possess'd the King with base Principles, and made his Father's Stiffness the frequent Subject of his Raillery.

The Marquiss of *Montrose* attended the King at the *Hague* at this time, and believing himself to have a great Interest in *Scotland*, our Author says, he procur'd the King's Commission, and embarked for that Kingdom, carrying no Forces with him; but was taken soon after his Arrival there, and dragg'd to his Execution with all the Ignominy that brutal Men could contrive. His Behaviour at the same time, our Author observes, was great and firm; he continued to look upon his Enemies with a noble Contempt, to the last. The Triumphs that the Preachers made on this Occasion rendred them odious to all Mankind, and made *Montrose* more lamented than he would otherwise have been, our Author thinks.

Notwithstanding the barbarous Execution of *Montrose* by the Saints, the Bishop tells us, the King could

could not be prevail'd with to dismiss the *Scots* Commissioners; but on the contrary, the Duke of *Bucks* perswaded him to conclude the Treaty with them upon their own Terms, and put himself into their Hands; for which Service that Duke was permitted to remain with his Majesty in *Scotland*, (tho' no Man led a more scandalous and dissolute Course of Life,) when Duke *Hamilton*, and all his other Servants, were dismiss'd by the Godly, as too impure to converse with their Holinesses. In Compliance with the Presbyterians, the Bishop tells us, the King wrought himself into as grave a Deportment as possible, and heard Prayers and Sermons of an unusual length: That at one of their Fasts, where the Bishop was present himself, they made the King hear six Sermons without Intermission. His Majesty was not so much as allowed to walk abroad on *Sundays*, he says; and if he ever suffer'd such Amusements as Dancing or Cards in his Court, he was severely reprov'd for it by the Saints: which indiscreet Rigour, our Author thinks, contributed much towards giving him an Aversion to all Strictness in Religion.

The Common People expressing some Affection to the King's Person, the Fathers of the Kirk would not suffer them to approach the Court: Nor did they permit his Majesty above once to see the Army, for fear he should gain the Affections of the Souldiers. The *Scots* had then, our Author observes, the best Army that ever they assembled, but very ill commanded, having discarded all the Officers that were not of their own Way, and having thus new modell'd the Soldiery, the Kirk look'd upon them as an Army of Saints, and were very confident of their Success.

Cromwell hearing of the Preparations of the *Scots* to invade *England*, thought fit to make them a Vi-

fit first, and march'd down into *Scotland*. *Lesley*, who commanded the *Scots*, according to our Author, possess'd himself of an advantageous Camp, and cut off *Cromwell's* Provisions, insomuch that he was reduc'd to the greatest Extremity: nor was it possible for him to make his Retreat by Land into *England*. Whereupon *Cromwell* was upon the Point of embarking his Army, and returning to *Newcastle* by Sea. In this Distress *Cromwell*, according to his wonted Custom, assembled his Officers to seek the Lord in Prayer; after which he told them he felt such an Enlargement of Heart, and such a Calm within him, that God had certainly heard them, and would appear for them; and therefore bid them be of good Heart. He then led his Officers to a Place where they might see the Enemy in Motion; whereupon he told them that God was now delivering them into their Hands, that they were quitting that advantagious Post where they had so distress'd his Army, and God would now deliver them into their Hands.

It seems the Committee of States in the *Scots* Army (who were compos'd of the most zealous Enthusiasts) thought that *Lesley* did not make Haste enough to destroy those Sectaries, as they call'd *Cromwell's* Army; and therefore, contrary to *Lesley's* Opinion, they agreed to quit their Ground, and attack the *English*. They were all Night coming down the Hill from their fortify'd Camp, and in the Morning, before they had form'd themselves, *Cromwell* fell upon them, and except two Regiments which made some Resistance, this Army of Saints fled as fast as their Legs would carry them, leaving their Artillery and Baggage behind them; and several thousands of them were made Prisoners: whereupon *Cromwell* advanc'd to *Edinburgh*, which open'd her Gates to the Conqueror; the Castle soon after

after surrendred; and *Cromwell* laid all the *South* of *Scotland* under Contribution. This is the Author's Account of the Defeat at *Dunbar*, which happened the 3d of *September*, 1650.

The rest of the Winter the Armies remained in their respective Quarters. *Sterlin* was now the King's Frontier Garrison, where a Parliament was assembled, and many Debates arose whether in this Distress they should accept of the Assistance of the King's Friends; which was at length carried in the Affirmative, but with many Proteſtations againſt it: They could never expect a Blessing from God, they ſaid, upon an Army ſo conſtituted.

They compell'd the King, about this time, to ſign a Declaration, wherein they make him acknowledge the Sin of his Father, in marrying an Idolatress, and by the Bloodshed of the late Wars at his Father's Door: They make him alſo expreſs a deep Senſe of his own ill Education, and the Prejudices he had drunk in againſt *the Cauſe of God*, and to confeſs that his former ill Life had been a Courſe of Enmity to the Work of God: That he repented of his granting a Commiſſion to *Montroſe*, and of every thing whereby he had given Offence to the Saints; and with ſolemn Proteſtations affirm that he was ſincere in this Declaration, and would adhere to it to the End of his Life. This Inſtrument had not the Effect the Godly expected, our Author obſerves, for neither Side believ'd his Maſteſty ſincere in it, and it was thought a ſtrange Impoſition to make him load the Memory of his Father at this rate: The King being thus provok'd and weary of the Reſtraint put upon him by the Kirk, accepted an Invitation from ſome old Cavaliers to appear amongſt them; and his Maſteſty accordingly met them at *Dundee*; but the King finding them not conſiderable enough to make Head againſt *Cromwell*, and

and being press'd by the Kirk to return to them again, the King came back, and was afterwards us'd with a little more Humanity.

The Earl of *Argyle*, our Author tells us, was the most leading Man in the *Scots* Army, and his Majesty thereupon made him great Offers, and even talk'd of marrying his Daughter; but the Earl discover'd that the King's Heart was not with him, our Author says, and therefore look'd upon all his Proposals as so many Snares. However, he permitted his Son the Lord *Lorn* to make his Court to his Majesty; which he did effectually, by introducing such Persons to him as his Majesty desir'd to converse with.

On the 1st of *January*, 1650, the King was crown'd, when he was again forc'd to swallow the Covenant; and now all People were admitted to attend him, and serve in the Army, and a Body of *Cromwell's* Troops having pass'd the *Frith*, and landed in *Fife*, it was resolv'd to march into *England*, there being no possibility of subsisting the Army longer in *Scotland*. Our Author does not think fit to give us any Relation of their March to *Worcester*, or their Defeat there on the 3d of *September*, 1651, but entertains us with an Account of three Regiments of *Cromwell's* Army that remain'd in *Scotland*, under *Monk*, whose Order, Discipline, Gravity and Piety, he says, amaz'd all People: They were most of them Independents and Anabaptists, all gifted Men, and preach'd as they were mov'd; but never disturbed the Publick Assemblies in the Churches, but once at *Aberdeen*, when the Bishop was present: They reproach'd the Presbyterian Preachers, he says, with charging them with Things that were false, and the Debate grew so hot that at last they drew their Swords; but there was no Hurt done, and *Cromwell* displac'd the Governor for not punishing the Offenders.

All the Low Country of *Scotland* being reduc'd by *Monk*, the Earls of *Glencairn* and *Belcarras*, with about three or four thousand Men, still held out for the King in the *Highlands*, and were joined by *Sir Robert Murray*, First President of the Royal Society, of whom our Author gives a pretty just Character in this Place; but they were divided in their Councils, he says, and could effect nothing considerable; however, *Middleton* was afterwards sent over to command this little Army, and they were not dispers'd till the Year 1654, when he says there was a universal Joy in *Scotland* that an End was put to this War, it having occasion'd many Robberies and Outrages, on pretence of going to assist the *Highlanders*.

Afterwards the Country was very quiet, he says, and the *Highlands* were never kept in that Order as during the *Usurpation*; and the Pay of that little Army, which consisted of seven or eight thousand Men, under *Monk*, he observes, brought so much Money into the Kingdom as put it in a very flourishing Condition. *Cromwell* indeed rais'd three Fortresses, he says, viz. at *Leith*, *Air* and *Inverness*, besides many little Forts, but a strict Discipline was observ'd, and Justice duly administred, and the *Scots* had their Representatives in the Parliament, (if those thirty whom *Cromwell* nominated may be call'd such;) so that the Bishop seems to think them much happier under this Tyranny, than under a legal Administration.

Here our Author proceeds to give an Account of the two Parties among the *Scots* Presbyterians, viz. the Protesters, and Resolutioners, who grew to that Height to throw Stones at one another, and commit other Acts of Violence. The former, it seems, obtained their Name from protesting against the admitting the Royalists into any Posts Civil or Military,

tary, notwithstanding their pretended Repentance and Conformity to the Kirk. The Resolutioners, who were the Majority, were for it; but *Cromwell* rather took the Part of the Protesters, as most sure to his Interest: but he was so far from suppressing either, that he play'd one against the other, and was appeal'd to by both, and he would never suffer their General Assembly to meet to decide any thing.

R E M A R K S.

The good Bishop seems to retain so much Charity for his Favourite *Cromwell*, that he cannot believe he ever desir'd the King's Death; the Odium of it is entirely cast on *Ireton*, who, our Author tells us, was a mere *Cassius*; and by consequence, I presume, he would have us look upon his Hero *Cromwell* as endued with all the Virtues of a *Brutus*; and that nothing but the Love of his Country, and his Zeal to deliver her from the Tyranny of King *Charles*, could have induced him to consent to his Death: But I am mistaken, if all his artful Insinuations and Endeavours to palliate *Cromwell's* Crimes will ever be able so far to impose upon the World, as to induce them to look upon the Usurper in that favourable Light *Brutus* has been represented. Had *Brutus* destroy'd *Cesar* with the same View that *Cromwell* did King *Charles*, namely, to usurp the Regal Power himself, subvert the Laws and Constitutions of the Empire, and become ten times more a Tyrant than ever *Cesar* was, his Name must have remained as detested among all civiliz'd Nations as *Cromwell's* does at this Day. And tho' a successful Rebel, while he is possess'd of Sovereign Power, can never want Flatterers to put specious Colours on his basest Actions, it is a little surprizing to find a Christian Bishop, in a succeeding Age, making

making so vile a Wretch the Subject of a Panegyrick: People may be influenced by their Hopes and Fears while they are at the Tyrant's Mercy; but that the Bishop, when he cou'd have no such Motives to induce him to court or fawn upon him, should spend so many Pages in palliating his Faults, and applauding his Conduct, is not easily accounted for; unless we ascribe it to his Fondness for *the Good Old Cause*, and his fix'd Enmity to *all lawful Princes*, so conspicuous in this posthumous Work. Nor can the Usurper's Intention of putting the King to Death be doubted, if we consider the Speeches made by himself and his Chaplain *Hugh Peters* on that Occasion.

At the Trial of *Hugh Peters*, *Stephen Clough* depos'd, That about three Weeks before the King was murder'd, there was a Meeting of the Council of Officers at *Westminster*, among whom the Deponent saw *Hugh Peters*, who desir'd to call for a Blessing upon their Business; and in his Prayer, among other things, said, "O Lord, what a Mercy is it to see this great City fall down before us! and what a Stir is there to bring this great Man to Trial, without whose Blood he will turn us all into Blood, if he reign again. *State Trial, Vol. I. 888.*

Mr. *Beaver* depos'd, that a few Days before the Act was made for the King's Tryal, the Parliament having appointed a Fast, *Hugh Peters* preach'd before them at *St. Margaret's*, where the Deponent heard him say in his Sermon, That it was a very sad Thing, that this should be Question amongst us as among the old *Jews*, Whether our Saviour Jesus Christ must be crucify'd, or that *Barabbas* should be releas'd, the Oppressor of the People. O Jesus, said he, where are we that that should be a Question? And because you should think, my Lords and Gentlemen, that it is a Question, I tell you it is a Question.

tion. I have been in the City, which may very well be compared to *Jerusalem*; and I profess, these foolish Citizens, for a little Trading and Profit, will have Christ (pointing to the red Coats on the Pulpit Stairs) crucify'd, and that great *Barabbas* at *Windſor* releas'd. I do not much mind what the Rabble ſay, but I have been with my Brethren the Clergy, in the Aſſembly, and I perceive they are for crucifying Chriſt alſo, and releaſing of *Barabbas*. O Jeſus, (ſays he) what ſhall we do now? and ſhrug'd up his Shoulders. Afterwards he addreſs'd himſelf to the Lords and Commons particularly, and ſaid, you are the *Sanhedrim*, the great Council of the Nation, therefore you muſt be ſure to do Juſtice; it is from you we expect it; you muſt not only be Inheritors of your Anceſtors, but you muſt do as they did: They have oppos'd tyrannical Kings; they have deſtroy'd them. It is you that we chiefly expect Juſtice from. Do not prefer the great *Barabbas*, Murderer, Tyrant, and Traitor, before theſe poor Hearts (pointing again to the red Coats), and the Army who are our Saviours. And thus for two or three Hours he ſpent his Time, in inciting his Audience to bring the King to a ſpeedy and capital Punishment. *State-Trial*, Vol. I. 888.

Mr. *Chafe* depos'd, That he heard the Priſoner preach before *Cromwell* and *Bradſhaw* on that Text: *Bind your Kings in Chains, and your Nobles with Fetters of Iron*. That he told them, the next *Pſalm* had twelve *Hallelujahs*, which were intended to expreſs their Joy, that Kings were bound in Chains. Then he told the Story of the Mayor that laid the Biſhop's Man by the Heels for being drunk; and when the Biſhop complain'd of it, the Mayor answered, there was an Act of Parliament for it, and neither the Biſhop, or his Man, were excepted out of

of it. And so (says *Peters*) here is a great Talk in the World, What will you cut off the King's Head, the Head of a Protestant Prince? Turn to your Bibles, and you shall find, *Whosoever sheds Man's Blood, by Man shall his Blood be shed*, as the Mayor said of the Bishop and his Servant. I see neither King *Charles*, nor Prince *Charles*, nor Prince *Rupert*, nor Prince *Maurice*, nor any of that Rabble excepted out of it; and added, This is the Day, that I, and many Saints of God, have been praying for these many Years. And the Deponent observ'd, that *Oliver Cromwell* laugh'd at the Discourse. *State-Tryals*, Vol. I. p. 889. Thus far the Chaplain in his Preachments before *Cromwell*, and I believe no Man can doubt, whether it was by his Master's Direction: But to proceed to *Cromwell* himself. When it was mov'd in the House, whether they should proceed capitally against the King, *Cromwell* stood up, and declared, that if any Man moved this upon Design, he should think him the greatest Traitor in the World: But since Providence and Necessity had cast them upon it, he should pray God to bless their Counsels; and added, that as he was praying for a Blessing from God on his Undertaking to restore the King to his pristine Majesty, his Tongue cleav'd to the Roof of his Mouth, that he could not speak one Word more; which he took as a Return of Prayer, and that God had rejected him from being King. *Echard*, p. 652.

The same Author tells us, that while the King remain'd under the Sentence of that Mock-Court of Justice, Colonel *John Cromwell*, nearly related to *Oliver*, arriv'd from *Holland*, with Credentials from the States, to which was added a Blank of the King's Signet, and another of the Prince's, both confirm'd by the States, for *Oliver* himself to write his own Conditions, if he would now save the Life of the King.

King. The Colonel found out his Kinsman at his House, but so retired and shut up in his Chamber, with an Order, that none should know he was within, that he was with great Difficulty admitted when he had declar'd his Name. After mutual Salutations, and desiring a Word in private, the Colonel began freely to tell the other of the Heinousness of the Fact then ready to be committed, and how detestable it resounded abroad; adding, That of all Men living, he could never have imagin'd, that he would have been concerned in it, having in his hearing protested so much for the King. Whereupon *Cromwell* flew to his old Shifts, telling him, it was not he, but the Army; he own'd he did once say some such Words, but Times were alter'd, and Providence seem'd to dispose Things otherwise; that he had prayed and fasted for the King, but no Return that Way was yet made to him; whereupon the Colonel stepping back, suddenly shut the Door, which frighted the other with the Belief of an Assassination; and then pulling out his Papers, Cousin, said he, this is no time to trifle with Words; see here it is now in your own Power, not only to make yourself, but your Family, Relations, and Posterity happy and honourable for ever, otherwise, as they have changed their Name before from *Williams* to *Cromwell*, so now they must be forc'd to change it again; for this Fact will bring such an Ignominy upon the whole Generation of them, that no time will be able to deface. Here *Cromwell* paus'd, and seem'd to reflect with himself, and then said, Cousin, I desire you will give me till Night to consider of it, and do you go to your Inn, and not to Bed till you hear from me. This the Colonel observ'd, and about one of the Clock in the Night a Messenger came and told him, he might go to Rest, and expect no other Answer to carry to the Prince

Prince, for the Council of Officers had been seeking God, as he also had done, and *it was resolved by them all, that the King must die.*

And if it was resolv'd by them *all*, the Bishop's Assertion cannot be true, that he was always in Suspence about it; besides, his Life was known to be wholly in *Cromwell's* Power, and he was accordingly applied to; though no Body can doubt he was willing to throw the Odium of it upon his Officers.

And as our Author seems very zealous in advancing the Reputation of *Cromwell*, so he endeavours no less to depress and blast the Memory of King *Charles I.* in this posthumous Work, as appears from Page 20, 30, 47, &c. I shall therefore in this Place shew what the Bishop himself has said of his Majesty upon other Occasions; and if we find *Burnet* and the Bishop at Variance, and flatly contradicting each other, I shall leave it to the Reader to believe which of them he pleases, or neither, if he can't easily digest Inconsistencies; and indeed it is something difficult, when a Gentleman has often indulg'd himself in the Liberty of asserting Contradictions, to give an entire Credit to what he says, though he proceeds to back his Assertions with the most solemn Oaths.

Some Instances of the great Opinion Dr. *Burnet* once had of his Majesty King *Charles I.* may be found in his Sermon preach'd at the *Savoy* on the 30th of *January* 1674, entitled, *The Royal Martyr*. From whence I have collected the following Passages, *viz.*

I will not enlarge upon the whole Field of that murder'd Prince's Virtues, for that were both endless they being so many, and needless they being so well known; but having, by a great Happiness, seen not a few, (I may add hundreds of) Papers under his own Royal Pen, I shall now offer divers Passages drawn out of those that will give some

Burnet's
Royal Mar-
tyr. p. 6.

Characters of his great Soul——In the next Page he adds.

Burnet's
Royal Mar-
tyr. p. 7.

We find it said of *Saul*, that after he was anointed, God gave him another Heart; and that meeting a Company of Prophets, he prophesy'd to the Astonishment of those that beheld him. How much of this Divine Spirit rested upon our blessed Martyr, all those Meditations that were his Exercises in his Retirement, do abundantly declare.

Ibid. p. 9.

What our Martyr's Zeal for the protecting his Subjects was, I shall make appear from the following Evidences; how far he comply'd with their most unreasonable Desires, to the great Diminution of his Royal Authority, is well enough known: When he saw them inclined to engage in the Civil Wars in the Kingdom, he left no Means unessay'd, to satisfy even *all their Jealousies and Fears*.

Ibid. p. 11.

How careful he was to prevent a Rupture in this Nation, not only his *great Concessions* prove, but his *constant Offers of Treaty*, even when Things went *prosperously* with him, demonstrate.

Ibid. p. 18.

Our Royal Martyr did daily shew more and more Evidences of a truly Divine and Christian Spirit: What full Indemnity and Oblivion did he offer his Enemies, even though they would not allow an Indemnity to his Friends; and how much was he against all cruel and severe Practices?

Ibid. p. 19.

For his Fidelity in observing his Treaties, I have already mention'd some Passages, that shew how religiously he resolv'd to observe them, and his refusing to serve his Interest by Promises, which how useful soever they might have been to him, yet since he could not with a good Conscience observe them he would not make them, shews how sacred he accounted all his Promises.

Ibid. p. 21.

Our Royal Martyr depended upon God, and submitted to his Will in the Course of all his Counsels,

sels, both in Peace and War; and when it pleased God, for the Punishment of his People, to expose him to the Cruelty and Malice of his Enemies, even then he prov'd more than Conqueror. Nor would he express the least Meanness of Spirit when brought lowest. He would neither give up the Rights of the Church, nor Crown, nor People, nor Parliaments, to their insulting Pride, who trampling upon all Laws, sacred and human, had made themselves the sacrilegious Masters of his Person and Power.

And as he was not cowardly or languid under all his Misfortunes, so he maintain'd his Authority as long as he was able, and did not faintly despond or abandon his own Rights, or the Protection of his People.

Ibid.

What Reason have those who engaged in Arms against our Royal Martyr, to charge and judge themselves, that they be not judged of the Lord; who not being satisfy'd with those great and large Concessions he freely and voluntarily offer'd, did pursue his Person and Life in the Field? After which, it was no wonder others learnt to pursue him to the Scaffold. May not the one be said to have kill'd the King, that robb'd him of his Revenue, Power, and Authority, and every thing that was necessary for the Maintenance of the Royal Dignity; whereas the other did but murder *Charles* after he was spoil'd of his Royal Power, and the Government taken out of his Hands; though in a formal Pageantry Writs were issued in his Name?

Ibid. p. 25.

In his four Conferences printed at *Glasgow* 1673, p. 241. he says, I shall not engage further in the Differences betwixt the King and the two Houses, than to shew, that his Majesty had the Law clearly on his Side, since he not only consented to the Redress of all Grievances, for which the least Colour of Law was alledg'd, but had also yielded to larger Concessions

Burnet's four Conferences, p. 241.

to secure the Fears of the Subject than had been granted by all the Kings of *England* since the Conquest. Yet their Demands were unsatisfiable, without his Majesty had consented to the abolishing Episcopacy, and the Discharge of the Liturgy, which neither his Conscience, nor the Laws of *England*, allowed of. So that the present War cannot be said to have gone on the Principles of defending Religion, since his Majesty was invading no part of the establish'd Religion: And in *Scotland* his Majesty had settled all Matters to their Hearts Desire; and by many frequent and solemn Protestations, declar'd his Resolutions of observing inviolably that Agreement.

Burnet's Memoirs of Hamilton, p. 3.

In his Preface to the Memoirs of Duke *Hamilton*, p. 3. he says, 'Twas a strange and unheard of thing, to see a Prince, who had great Virtues and eminent Piety, and was of the same Religion with his Subjects, and had never put any of them unjustly to Death, so oppress'd by a prevalent Faction.

Baker's Chronicles, p. 603. Ed. 1670.

As to the Character given of King *Charles I.* by my Lord *Clarendon*, which entirely contradicts the Character we find in this posthumous Work in every Article, the Reader will find it in the first Volume of the Review, and therefore I forbear to insert it here, and proceed to observe, what other Writers of Credit have said of that Prince. Sir *Richard Baker* tells us, that in Counsel he was quick and discerning, though somewhat too deliberate in Execution; and though none of his Counsellors equall'd him in Parts, yet he was so diffident of his own Judgment, that he frequently left that, to follow the Advice of others.

Welwood's Memoirs, p. 69.

Nor did he fall short of the Bravest, says *Welwood*, in personal Courage, having expos'd his Person in every Battel he was in, and oftentimes charging at the Head of his Squadrons.

He

He had a steddy and undaunted Courage, in all hazardous Rencounters, says Sir Philip Warwick.

Sir Philip Warwick's Mem. p. 74.

Judge Jenkins, in his *Lex Terra*, observes of King Charles, that he quitted the Ship-Money, Knight-hood-Money, seven Courts of Justice, consented to a Triennial Parliament, settled the Forest Bounds, trusted the Houses with the Navy, pass'd an Act not to dissolve the Parliament without the Houses Assent; no People in the World so free, if they could be content.

Judge Jenkins, *Lex Terra*, p. 15.

Mr. Alexander Henderson, principal Minister of Edinburgh, and chief Commissioner from the Kirk of Scotland, to the Parliament and Synod in England, upon his Death-bed deliver'd himself as follows:

Ker's Hist. of Eng. p. 190.

" I do declare, before God and the World, that
 " since I had the Honour and Happiness to converse and confer with his Majesty with all sorts
 " of Freedom, especially in Matters of Religion,
 " whether in relation to the Kirk or State, that I
 " found him the most intelligent Man that ever I
 " spoke with, as far beyond my Expression as Expectation. I profess that I was oftentimes astonished with the Solidity and Quickness of his
 " Reasons and Replies, wondred how he, spending
 " his Time so much in Sports and Recreations,
 " could have attained to so great Knowledge; and
 " must confess ingenuously, I was convinced in
 " Conscience, and knew not how to give him any
 " reasonable Satisfaction; yet the Sweetness of his
 " Disposition is such, that whatsoever I said was
 " well taken. I must say, that I never met with
 " any Disputant of that mild and calm Temper;
 " which convinc'd me the more, and made me think
 " that such Wisdom and Moderation could not
 " be without an extraordinary Measure of divine
 " Grace.

*Kenner's
Hist. of Eng.
p. 190.*

“ If I should speak of his Justice, Magnanimi-
 “ ty, Charity, Sobriety, Chastity, Patience, Humi-
 “ lity, and of all his both Christian and Moral Vir-
 “ tues, I should run my self into a Panegyrick, and
 “ seem to flatter him, to such as did not know
 “ him, if the present Condition that I lie in did
 “ not exempt me from any Suspicion of worldly
 “ Ends, when I expect every Hour to be call'd from
 “ all transitory Vanities to eternal Felicity; and the
 “ discharging of my Conscience before God and
 “ Man did not oblige me to declare the Truth sim-
 “ ply and nakedly, in Satisfaction of that I have
 “ done ignorantly, tho' not altogether innocently.

These Passages are so full a Vindication of the Character of King *Charles I.* from the vile Insinuations in this posthumous Work, that nothing need be added to them; unless it be to observe that these Relations come chiefly from Persons who were of different Principles, and in a different Interest from his Majesty, and who were much better qualify'd to give a Character of King *Charles I.* than this good Bishop was. And what aggravates his Crime is, that it is apparent he was not ignorant of his Majesty's true Character, at the time he aspers'd him; and did it also, in a manner, with his last Breath, that it might obtain the greater Credit with the People.

The next great Man our Author falls upon, *p. 47.* is Bishop *Juxon*, of whom he says he did the Duties of his Function honestly indeed, but with a dry Coldness that could not raise the King's Thoughts. And *p.* he says he was promoted to *Canterbury* more out of Decency, than as he was capable to fill that Post.

*Sir Ph. War.
Mem. p. 96.*

On the other hand, Sir *Philip Warwick*, in his *Memoirs*, says of this Bishop, that he was of a meek Spirit,

Spirit, of a solid and steady Judgment; that his Temper and Prudence wrought so upon all Men, that tho' he had the two most invidious Characters, both in the Ecclesiastical and Civil State, yet neither drew Envy on him, tho' the Humour of the Times tended to brand all Great Men in Employment; and that he retain'd so much of his Master's Favour and Esteem, that when the King was admitted to any Treaty with the Commissioners of the Two Houses, he always commanded his Attendance, for he valued his Advice.

Judge *Whitlock*, in his *Memoirs*, says that Bishop *Juxon* was a Man of great Parts and Temper, and had much Command of himself. *Whitlock's Mem. p. 23.*

To reconcile these different Accounts will require some Pains: Dr. *Burnet* can see no tolerable Qualification in Bishop *Juxon*, but a dry Coldness that cou'd not elevate the King's Thoughts; and when he was promoted to *Canterbury*, it was more out of Decency, it seems, than as he was capable of filling that Post; while Judge *Whitlock* represents him as a Man of great Parts; and Sir *Philip Warwick* as a Person of great Judgment, and who held two the most invidious Posts in Church and State, with that Temper and Prudence as gave a general Satisfaction.

Archbishop *Land* is next brought upon the Stage; whose violent and inexcusable Injustice in the Prosecution of Bishop *Williams*, our Author says, were such visible Blemishes, that nothing but the putting him to Death in so unjust a manner could have rais'd his Character, p. 50. and yet in the preceding Page he tells us he was a learned, a sincere and zealous Man, regular in his own Life, and humble in his private Deportment. *Burnet's Hist. p. 51.*

Judge *Whitlock* says of him, in his *Memoirs*, that he was too full of Fire, but a just and good Man. *Whitlock's Mem. p. 32.*

Clar. Hist.

From the Earl of *Clarendon* we learn, that the Archbishop was a Man of great Parts and very exemplary Virtues, tho' allay'd and discredited, he says, by some unpopular natural Infirmities; the greatest of which was, (besides a hasty sharp way of expressing himself,) that he believ'd *Innocence of Heart, and Integrity of Manners*, was a Guard strong enough to secure any Man in his Voyage thro' this World, in what Company soever he travelled, and through what Ways soever he was to pass: and adds, *Sure any Man was never better supplied with that Provision.*

Ibid.

He was always maligned and persecuted by those who were of the *Calvinian* Faction, which was then very powerful, and who, according to their usual Maxim and Practice, call every Man they do not love, *Papist*: And under this senseless Appellation they created him many Troubles and Vexations, and so far suppress'd him, that tho' he was the King's Chaplain, and taken notice of for an excellent Preacher, and a Scholar of the most sublime Parts, he had not any Preferment to invite him to leave his poor College, which only gave him Bread, till the Vigour of his Age was past.

Ibid.

The Archbishop had all his Life eminently oppos'd *Calvin's* Doctrine, before the Name of *Arminius* was taken notice of, or his Opinion heard of; and thereupon, for want of another Name, they had call'd him a *Papist*; which no body believ'd him to be; and he had more manifested the contrary in his Disputations and Writings, than most Men had done: And it may be the other found the more severe and rigorous Usage from him, for their propagating that Calumny against him. He propos'd no End in all his Actions and Designs, but what was pious and just, but he never studied the easiest Way to those Ends: He thought, it may be, that any Art or Industry that way would discredit, at least,

least, make the Integrity of the End suspected, let the Cause be what it will. He did court Persons too little; nor cared to make his Designs and Purposes appear as candid as they were, by shewing them in any other Dress than their own natural Beauty, tho' perhaps in too rough a manner; and did not consider enough what Men said, or were like to say of him: If the Faults and Vices were fit to be look'd into and discover'd, let the Persons be who they would that were guilty of them, they were sure to find no Connivance or Favour from him; he intended the Discipline of the Church should be felt as well as spoken of, and that it should be applied to the greatest and most splendid Transgressors, as well as to the Punishment of smaller Offences, and meaner Offenders; and thereupon call'd for or cherish'd the Discovery of those who were not careful to cover their own Iniquities, thinking they were out of the Reach of Justice: Persons of Honour and great Quality were every Day cited into the High Commission Court, upon the Fame of their Incontinence, or other Scandal in their Lives; and were there prosecuted, to their Shame and Punishment.

He defended himself at his Trial with great and *Clar. Hist.* undaunted Courage, and less Passion than was expected from his Constitution: he answer'd all their Objections with Clearness and irresistible Reason, and convinc'd all impartial Men of his Integrity, and his Detestation of all treasonable Intentions: so that tho' few excellent Men have ever had fewer Friends to their Persons, yet all reasonable Men absolv'd him from any foul Crime that the Law could take notice of and punish. However, when they had said all against him they could, and he all for himself that need to be said, and no such Crime appearing as the Lords would take upon them to judge him

him to be worthy of Death, they resorted to their Legislative Power, and by Ordinance of Parliament, as they call'd it, that is, by a Determination of those Members who sat in the Houses (whereof in the House of Peers there were not above twelve) they appointed him to be put to Death, as guilty of High Treason: The first time the two Houses of Parliament had ever assumed that Jurisdiction, or that ever Ordinance had been made to such a Purpose; nor could any Rebellion be more against Law than that murderous Act. *Clar. Vol. II. 572.*

Clar. Hist.

When his Trial was over, and the Ordinance pass'd for his Execution, and it was demanded of him, according to Custom, what he could say why he should not suffer Death? he said he had the King's Pardon; which he pleaded, and tender'd to them, and desired it might be allowed. Whereupon he was sent to the *Tower*, and the Pardon read in both Houses; where, without any long Debate, it was declar'd to be of no effect, and that the King could not pardon a Judgment of Parliament; and so, without troubling themselves farther, they gave Order for his beheading; which he underwent with all Christian Courage and Magnanimity, to the Admiration of the Beholders, and Confusion of his Enemies. Much hath been said of the Person of this great Prelate before, of his great Endowments, and natural Infirmities; to which shall be added no more in this Place (his Memory deserving a particular Celebration) than that his Learning, Piety and Virtue have been attained by very few; and the greatest of his Infirmities are common to all, even to the best of Men. *Vol. II. 573.*

The Bishop having given us the Characters of King *Charles*, Bishop *Juxon*, and Bishop *Laud*, proceeds to acquaint us with the Invitation the *Scotts* gave King *Charles II.* to come amongst them, and their

their Usage of him in *Scotland*; which being agreeable to other Relations, I pass over it: But he seems to speak so slightly of the Marquis of *Montrose's* Expedition and Services, that I must beg leave to add a farther Account of that noble Lord from the Earl of *Clarendon*: *David Lesly*, he says, treated the Marquis with great Insolence, after he was taken, and for some Days carried him in the same Cloaths and Habit in which he was taken, but at last permitted him to buy better. His Behaviour was in the whole time such as became a great Man, his Countenance serene and chearful, as one that was superior to all those Reproaches which they had prepar'd the People to pour upon him, in all the Places thro' which he was to pass.

Clar. Hist.
Vol. III. 353.
8vo Edit.

When he came to one of the Gates of *Edinburgh*, he was met by some of the Magistrates, to whom he was deliver'd, and by them presently put into a new Cart, purposely made, in which there was a high Chair, or Bench, upon which he sat, that the People might have a full View of him, being bound with a Cord drawn over his Breast and Shoulders, and fasten'd thro' Holes made in the Cart: When he was in this Posture the Hangman took off his Hat, and rode himself before the Cart in his Livery, and with his Bonnet on; the other Officers who were taken Prisoners with him walking two and two before the Cart, the Streets and Windows being full of People, to behold the Triumph over a Person whose Name had made them tremble some few Years before, and into whose Hands the Magistrates of that Place had upon their Knees deliver'd the Keys of that City. In this manner he was carried to the common Goal, where he was receiv'd and treated as a common Malefactor: Within two Days after, he was brought before the Parliament; where the Earl of *London* the Chancellor made a very bitter
and

and virulent Declaration against him, told him he had broken all the Covenants by which that whole Nation stood oblig'd, and had impiously rebell'd against God, the King and the Kingdom; that he had committed many horrible Murders, Treasons and Impieties; for all which he was now brought to suffer condign Punishment; with all those insolent Reproaches upon his Person and his Actions, which the Liberty of that Place gave him leave to use.

Clav. Hist.
Vol. III. 354
8vo Edit.

Permission was then given him to speak; and without the least Trouble in his Countenance, or Disorder, upon all the Indignities he had suffer'd, he told them, Since the King had own'd them so far as to treat with them, he had appear'd before them with Reverence, and bare-headed, which otherwise he would not willingly have done; that he had done nothing of which he was asham'd, or had Cause to repent; that the first Covenant he had taken, and comply'd with it, and with them who took it, as long as the Ends for which it was ordained were observed; but when he discover'd (which was now evident to all the World) that private and particular Men design'd to satisfy their own Ambition and Interest, instead of considering the publick Benefit; and that under the Pretence of reforming some Errors in Religion, they resolv'd to abridge and take away the King's just Power and lawful Authority, he had withdrawn himself from that Engagement; that for the League and Covenant he had never taken it, and therefore could not break it, and it was now too apparent to the whole Christian World what monstrous Mischiefs it had produc'd; that when under Colour of it an Army from *Scotland* had invaded *England*, in Assistance of the Rebellion that was then against their lawful King, he had, by his Majesty's Command,

receiv'd

receiv'd a Commission from him to raise Forces in *Scotland*, that he might thereby divert them from the other odious Prosecution; that he had executed that Commission with the Obedience and Duty he ow'd to the King, and in all the Circumstances of it had proceeded like a Gentleman, and never suffer'd any Blood to be shed but in the Heat of the Battel; that he saw many Persons there whose Lives he had sav'd; that when the King commanded him, he laid down his Arms, and withdrew out of the Kingdom; which they could not have compell'd him to have done: He said he was now again enter'd into the Kingdom by his Majesty's Command, and with his Authority; and what Success soever it might have pleased God to have given him, he would always have obey'd any Commands he should have receiv'd from him. He advis'd them to consider well of the Consequence before they proceeded against him, and that all his Actions might be examined and judg'd by the Laws of the Land, or those of Nations.

As soon as he had ended his Discourse, he was order'd to withdraw, and after a short Space, was again brought in, and told by the Chancellor, That he was on the Morrow, being the one and twentieth of *May*, to be carried to *Edinburgh-Cross*, and there to be hang'd upon a Gallows thirty Foot high, for the Space of three Hours; and then to be taken down, and his Head to be cut off upon a Scaffold, and hang'd on *Edinburgh-Tolbooth*; his Legs and Arms to be hang'd up in other publick Towns of the Kingdom, and his Body to be buried at the Place where he was to be executed, except the Kirk should take off his Excommunication, and then his Body might be buried in the common Place of Burial. He desir'd that he might say somewhat to them, but was not suffer'd; and so was carried back to Prison.

That

Ibid. p. 355.

That he might not enjoy any Ease or Quiet during the short Remainder of his Life, their Ministers came presently to insult over him with all the Reproaches imaginable, pronounc'd his Damnation, and assur'd him, that the Judgment he was the next Day to suffer, was but an easy Prologue to that which he was to undergo afterwards. After many such Barbarities, they offer'd to intercede for him to the Kirk upon his Repentance, and to pray with him; but he too well understood the Form of their Common-Prayer in those Cases, to be only the most virulent and insolent Imprecations upon the Persons of those they pray'd against; (Lord, vouchsafe yet to touch the obdurate Heart of this proud incorrigible Sinner, this wicked, perjur'd, traiterous, and prophane Person, who refuses to hearken to the Voice of the Kirk, and the like charitable Expressions) and therefore he desir'd them to spare their Pains, and leave him to his own Devotions. He told them, that they were a miserable, deluded, and deluding People, and would shortly bring that poor Nation under the most insupportable Servitude ever People had submitted to. He told them, he was prouder to have his Head set upon the Place it was appointed to be, than he could have been to have had his Picture hang in the King's Bed-Chamber. That he was so far from being troubled, that his four Limbs were to be hang'd in four Cities of the Kingdom, that he heartily wished, that he had had Flesh enough to be sent 'to every City of *Christendom*, as a Testimony of the Cause for which he suffer'd.

The next Day they executed every Part and Circumstance of that barbarous Sentence with all the Inhumanity imaginable; and he bore it with all the Courage and Magnanimity, and the greatest Piety, that a good Christian could manifest. He magnify'd the Virtue, Courage, and Religion of the King,
exceedingly

exceedingly commended the Justice, and Goodness, and Understanding of the present King, and pray'd, that they might not betray him, as they had done his Father. When he had ended all he meant to say, and was expecting to expire, they had yet one Scene more to act of their Tyranny. The Hangman brought the Book that had been published of his truly heroick Actions whilst he commanded in that Kingdom, which Book was ty'd in a small Cord, that was put about his Neck. The Marquis smil'd at the new Instance of their Malice, and thank'd them for it, and said, he was pleas'd that it should be there, and was prouder of wearing it, than ever he had been of the Garter. And so renewing some devout Ejaculations, he patiently endured the last Act of the Executioner.

Thus died the gallant Marquis of *Montrose*, after he had given as great a Testimony of Loyalty and Courage as a Subject can do, and performed as wonderful Actions in several Battels, upon as great Inequality of Numbers, and as great Disadvantages in respect of Arms and other Preparations for War, as have been perform'd in this Age. He was a Gentleman of a very ancient Extraction, many of whose Ancestors had exercised the highest Charges under the King in that Kingdom, and had been allied to the Crown itself. He was of very good Parts, which were improv'd by a good Education; he had always a great Emulation, or rather, a great Contempt of the Marquis of *Argyle*, (as he was too apt to contemn those he did not love) who wanted nothing but Honesty and Courage to be a very extraordinary Man, having all other good Talents in a very great Degree. *Montrose* was in his Nature fearless of Danger, and never declined any enterprise for the Difficulty of going through with it, but exceedingly affected those which seemed desperate

desperate to other Men, and did believe somewhat to be in himself above other Men, which made him live more easily towards those who were, or were willing to be inferior to him (towards whom he exercised wonderful Civility and Generosity) than with his Superiors or Equals. He was naturally jealous, and suspected those who did not concur with him in the Way not to mean so well as he. He was not without Vanity; but his Virtues were much superior, and he well deserv'd to have his Memory preserv'd and celebrated amongst the most illustrious Persons of the Age in which he liv'd.

Our Author proceeds to inveigh bitterly against the Ravages and Depredations of the King's Troops in the *Highlands*; though at the same time he acknowledges, several of their Commanders, Men of the greatest Worth, such as Sir *Robert Murray*, the first President of the Royal Society, of whom he is pleas'd to give a very great Character. When an End was put to this War in the *Highlands*, (though it was the last Struggle the *Scots* made for their dying Liberties) he says, there was an universal Joy in that Kingdom, and he looks upon his Countrymen as exceeding happy under the Dominion of *Cromwell*. The Pay of the Army, he says, put that Kingdom into a flourishing Condition, Justice was duly administred, Vice suppress'd and punish'd, and the time of the Usurpation was a time of great Peace and Prosperity. There was also a Sort of Union of the three Kingdoms, and the *Scots* had their Representatives in Parliament.

Cromwell indeed garrison'd their Towns, built Forts all over the Kingdom, subverted the Constitution, and govern'd them in a despotick manner; but this he seems to insinuate was their greatest Happiness, so just and merciful were the Decrees of that Usurper.

But let us see what the Lord *Clarendon* thought of the Happiness of the *Scots* during the Usurpation. An Historian whom our Author seems extremely fond of, and who, he says, gave a faithful Representation of the Troubles.

That noble Historian, *Vol. III. p. 494. 8° Ed.* says, *Scotland* lay under a heavy Yoke, and their Kirk and Kirkmen were entirely subdu'd, *p. 573.* He says, if the King's Nature could have been delighted to behold the Oppressions his rebellious Subjects endur'd in all the three Nations, he might have had abundant Comfort and Pleasure of this kind in all of them; first, in seeing *Scotland*, which first threw off wantonly its own Peace and Plenty, and infected the other two Kingdoms with its Rebellion, now reduc'd and govern'd by a Rod of Iron, vanquish'd and subdu'd by those whom they had taught the Science of Rebellion, and with whom they had join'd by specious Pretences, and Vows, and horrible Perjuries, to destroy their natural Prince, and dissolve the Regal Government to which they had been subject ever since they were a Nation, in seeing the Pride and Insolence of their People, which had used to practise such ill Manners towards their King, suppress'd, condemn'd, and expos'd to Slavery, under the Discipline and Castigation of Men who were very few of them bred up Gentlemen, but bred up in the Trades and Professions of common Men. These Men govern'd in their Houses, and prescribed new Laws to them to live by, which they had never been accusom'd to, yet were compell'd to obey upon penalty of their Lives and Estates, whilst their ador'd Idol, Presbytery, which had pull'd off the Crown from the Head of the King was trod under Foot and laugh'd at, and their Preachers who had threaten'd their Princes with their rude thunder of Excommunication, disputed with,

scoff'd at, and controll'd by Artificers, and corrected by the Strokes and Blows of a Corporal, and all this Subjection supported at their own Charge; their fierce Governors being paid by them out of their own Estates.

This was the Happiness of that People, and of the rest of the *British* Dominions, according to the Earl of *Clarendon*; and our Bishop must have an uncommon Passion for his Hero, *Cromwell*, when he had destroy'd both Episcopacy and Presbytery, subverted the Laws, and made every Institution, civil and sacred, bend to his Arbitrary Dominion, to applaud that grand successful Rebel, and prefer his insupportable Tyranny to the Government of his lawful Prince, and a well-poiz'd Constitution, as he plainly does; for he can find hardly any Mismanagement or Maladministration in *Cromwell*.

While he triumph'd, Justice held an uninterrupted Course; the State and Religion flourished, and Vice and Prophaneness were entirely discountenanced, according to our Author: While the Reigns of our Kings, before and after, he tells us, were a heap of Errors, and abounded in Instances of Oppression and Injustice.

How does this discover the Soul of the Man, and demonstrate what Party he is of? Surely, either he did not know, that when his darling *Cromwell* triumph'd, both our Ecclesiastical and Civil Government was entirely subverted, and that we were daily oppress'd, insulted, plunder'd, and massacred, or he was pleas'd with the glorious Destruction.

ABRIDGMENT.

When *Cromwell* entertain'd Thoughts of making himself King, our Author tells us, he propos'd also

to re-establish Episcopacy as the likeliest Method to support his Throne, and from hence proceeds to give us a Sketch of *Cromwell's* Politicks. When he took upon him the Government, he observes, he had three Parties to contend with, the Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Republican, that the last seem'd most resolv'd on his Ruin; for having perfidiously dissolv'd the House of Commons, and set up himself, that he had indeed none to rely on but the Army, and these he had wrought up to such a degree of Enthusiasm, as made them very intractable; many of the Officers he was forced to break or imprison, and the rest he courted and flatter'd, and still proceeded in his old Way of long dark Discourses, Sermons, and Prayers: From the Cavaliers he fear'd Plots and Assassination, but to deter them from assassinating him, he gave out, that if ever the King's Party should endeavour it, and fail in the Attempt, he would make an assassinating War of it, and destroy the whole Family, pretending he had Instruments to execute his Orders: And this Stratagem, our Authors think, was his best Protection; and as to their other Plots, he says, having discovered that Sir *Richard Willis* was Chancellor *Hyde's* principal Correspondent in *England*, and by whose Judgment the whole Party seem'd to be govern'd, he so effectually apply'd himself to Sir *Richard*, that he discovered every Conspiracy to *Cromwell* before it came to any Head, upon Condition however, that the Parties should not be Sufferers; for which Piece of Service, *Willis* had a Pension from *Cromwell* of 200 *l. per Annum*, that with this Secret none were ever trusted but *Thurlow*, his Secretary; and that after *Cromwell's* Death, *Willis* continued to give the same Intelligence to *Thurlow*, which was discover'd at length by *Morland*, the under Secretary, who got

a Key to his Master's Cabinet, and took out several Letters and sent them to the King.

The Bishop proceeds to inform us, that the Republican Party were many of them Deists, and generally agreed upon the Destruction of the Clergy, and dissolving every thing that had the Appearance of a National Church. They were for demolishing the Churches, seizing the Tythes, and leaving Religion free, as they term'd it, without Encouragements or Restraints. The Presbyterians dreaded the Fury of these, and *Cromwell* promised them, our Author says, that he would maintain a publick Ministry with suitable Encouragements, and that he joined several of them in Commission with the Independents to be Tryers of Persons admitted into Benefices, who disposed of all Preferments formerly in the Gift of the Crown, the Bishops, or of Cathedral Churches, and by this means, the Bishop observes, he sweeten'd the Presbyterians.

As to the Commonwealth Party, he endeavour'd to divide them, and set the Fifth Monarchy Men, and the rest of the Enthusiasts, against those who had no Religion at all, but acted upon Principles of Civil Liberty, such as *Algernon Sydney*, *Wildman*, *Harrington*, &c. The Fifth Monarchy Men, headed by *John Goodwin*, liv'd in daily Expectation, it seems, when Christ should begin his Reign upon Earth. These the Bishop says, held *Arminian* Tenets, which *Cromwell* hated, comforting himself, that as he was once a Child of God, he should ever remain so.

But however, *Goodwin* differed from the Protector in Spirituals: None of the Preachers seem'd so thorough pac'd, the Bishop says, in Temporal Matters, for he magnify'd the putting the King to Death, as the most glorious Action that was ever perform'd.

perform'd. To these Men, who look'd upon Monarchy to be Antichrist, *Cromwell*, with Tears in his Eyes, profess'd that he would much rather have taken a Shepherd's Staff than the Protectorship; nothing, he said, was more contrary to his Genius, but he found it necessary at that time to preserve the Nation from Ruin; that he only step'd in between the Living and the Dead, as he express'd it, till God should direct him what Course to take, in order to a Settlement, and then he should with Joy surrender that Burthen of Government; and he would frequently permit the Saints of this Order to sit down with him with their Hats on, to shew how little he valued Distinction. As to the other Republicans abovemention'd, he used to call them Heathens, and declar'd, he knew not how to work upon them.

Towards the latter End of his Tyranny, he us'd those of the Church of *England*, the Bishop observes, more gently, and suffer'd their Meetings about Town without Disturbance; that the very Papists courted him, and he ingratiated himself into almost all Sorts of People; but the Bishop seems to think all his Arts were exhausted, and if he had liv'd much longer, he could not have held things together.

The Lawyers in general, our Author says, were for his taking upon him the Stile of King, as the only Expedient to protect those who had acted under him.

The Enthusiasts on the contrary represented, that they had fought the Lord's Battels, and by his Assistance pull'd down Monarchy, and had solemnly vow'd to be true to the Commonwealth, without a King: and now to secure themselves, must they return back to *Egypt*, as they term'd it, and have recourse to such a wicked Engine as a King, whom they had hitherto look'd upon as an Invader of God's

Right, and a Usurper upon the People's Liberties? They could never therefore be brought, our Author tells us, to submit to a Monarch. That very Morning the Protector had appointed to give his Answer to the Parliament, as to his accepting the Title of King, the Bishop says, he found *Fleetwood* and *Deshborough* in the *Park* waiting for him (one of these had married his Daughter, and the other his Sister;) after some Discourse on the Subject, they plainly told him, if he accepted the regal Title, they could not serve him, and offer'd to lay down their Commands. This, 'twas believ'd by some, was the Occasion of his refusing the Crown, apprehending, that if such near Relations would desert him, many more would follow their Example.

The Cavaliers, or rather their Children, who had some Share in this Transaction, by Direction from those about the King, appeared zealous Commonwealth-men; our Author says, at this time, and oppos'd *Cromwell's* taking the Crown with all their Might, and in this they were join'd and protected by the Republicans; but at the Restoration they put off the Disguise, and appeared no less Assertors of the Privilege, and Patrons of absolute Power.

We are led next to take a View of *Cromwell's* Management of his foreign Affairs: He spar'd no Cost, the Bishop tells us, to procure good Intelligence; and when he understood the Correspondence that the *Jews* maintain'd in all Courts, and the Trade they drove in advancing Money upon Interest, he invited them into *England*, and gave them leave to build a Synagogue, which encouraged them to become his Spies, especially in *Spain* and *Portugal*; nor was he ignorant of any thing that was transacted in *King Charles's* Court. He adds, that *Cromwell* was courted both by *Spain* and *France*. The *Spaniards* offer'd, if *Cromwell* would join them, to make

make no Peace till they had recovered *Calais* for the *English*. On the other hand, the *French* offer'd the Protector to assist him in taking *Dunkirk*; but that which determin'd him to close with *France*, our Author thinks, was the Danger of making *France* his Enemy who might assist the King with a Body of Protestant Troops to make a Descent upon *England*; and the Nation was so divided at this time, that a small Body of foreign Troops would have turn'd the Scale. But the *French* Protestants it seems, were much better Friends to *Cromwell* than to the King; for our Author assures us, that King *James* told him, that among other Prejudices to the Protestant Religion, that his Brother and himself entertain'd, it was not one of the least, that they found the Protestants of that Kingdom alienated from them, and much devoted to the *Ursurper*.

In the Treaty with *France*, *Cromwell* insisted, that the King and the Duke of *Tork* should be removed out of that Kingdom, with which the *French* comply'd; and with some Money, and more Promises, the Royal Brothers were sent out of that Kingdom, and resided at *Cologne*, till they were invited by the *Spaniards* to *Brussels*.

The Bishop seems very positive that King *Charles* was reconciled to the Church of *Rome* before he left *Paris*; and only the Cardinal *de Retz*, and the Lord *Aubigny* were in the Secret. He says Chancellor *Hyde*, he thinks, had some Suspicion of it, but would never suffer himself to believe it quite. The Bishop grounds his Opinion upon a Letter he receiv'd from one that was Minister to the Marquis *de Roucy*, a *French Hugonot*, (I suppose he means Minister of the Congregation to which *Roucy* belong'd.) This Minister, it seems, inform'd the Bishop after the Death of the Marquis, that when the same

Cardinal press'd the Marquis de Rousy to change his Religion, one of the Reasons he urg'd was, that the Protestant Religion would certainly be ruin'd, for that both King *Charles* and the Duke of *York* were already chang'd. He says also, that Sir *Allen Broderick*, a great Confident of the Chancellor's, when he lay upon his Death-bed, sent him an Account of this Matter; and he believes King *Charles* was reconcil'd to the Church of *Rome* at *Fontainebleau*, before he went to *Cologne*. But the Bishop says King *James* was not reconciled at that time, for he told our Reverend Author, that being at a Monastery in *Flanders* afterwards, a Nun desir'd him to pray every Day, that if he was not in the right Way God would bring him into it. Which made such an Impression on the Duke as never left him till he chang'd.

After this Account of the Conversion of the Royal Brothers, our Author resumes the History of his Hero *Cromwell*, and gives us a Relation of the Expedition to the *West Indies*, whereby he hop'd, he says, to fill his Treasury without being oblig'd to a Parliament, whom he found very refractory and assuming. But this Expedition had not the Success *Cromwell* expected; however, tho' they miscarried in the Design upon *Hispaniola*, the Fleet afterwards sail'd to *Jamaica*, and made a Conquest of that Island. Whereupon a War ensued, between the *English* and *French* on one Side, and the *Spaniards* on the other.

Dunkirk was taken by the united Forces of *France* and *England*, and deliver'd into the Hands of the *English*, according to Promise: But in this War, the Bishop says, Trade suffer'd much, whereby the Protector lost the Hearts of the City of *London*.

The Bishop proceeds to give us an Account of *Cromwell's* Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and the

the Influence he had on the *French* Court, in the two common Instances of compelling that Court to prevail with the Duke of *Savoy* to cease persecuting the *Vandois*, and sparing the *Hugonots* concerned in the Insurrection at *Nismes*; and he says *Lockhart*, who was Ambassador at the *French* Court, both from *Cromwell* and King *Charles*, told him he did not find that *Regard* paid him in the King's Reign that he did during *Cromwell's* Usurpation.

He adds, that *Cromwell* intended to have form'd a Society for the Propagation of the Protestant Religion, on his Accession to the Throne, which it was thought he would have mounted, notwithstanding he declin'd it before, if he had liv'd a few Months longer. Here our Author digresses to a Story that *Stoupe* told him, of an *Irishman* sent over from *Flanders* to assassinate *Cromwell*, which *Stoupe* communicated to *Thurlow* the Secretary, but he did not think it worth troubling the Protector with. This *Irishman* proved to be *Syndercomb*, he says, who was executed for a Design on the Protector's Life. And when this was afterwards explained to *Cromwell*, tho' he at first seem'd angry with his Secretary for neglecting *Stoupe's* Advice, yet he was soon reconcil'd to him; and he possess'd *Cromwell* with such an ill Opinion of *Stoupe* that he never put any Confidence in him afterwards.

We are next entertained with a general Character of *Cromwell*; he could never shake off the Roughness of his Education and Temper, the Bishop tells us; that he always spoke long, and very ungracefully; that the Enthusiast and Dissembler seem'd so equally mix'd in him, that it was not easy to distinguish which was the prevailing Character, according to *Wilkins* and *Tillotson*, from whom our Author receiv'd his Information; the first of these married the Protector's Sister, and the other his Niece.

Niece. He adds, that *Cromwell* thought moral Laws only binding in ordinary Cases; and upon extraordinary ones they might be dispensed with: That he was naturally a Lover of Justice and Virtue, when they did not thwart his Designs; and had an Esteem for Learning, though then much decry'd.

He endeavour'd to find out able honest Men, he says, to fill publick Posts; and having heard of the Piety and Integrity of the Author's Father, tho' he knew him to be a Royalist, he offer'd to make him a *Scotish* Judge, without obliging him to swear to his Government; but his Father refus'd the Offer, and only desir'd of *Cromwell* he might live privately, without the Imposition of Oaths and Subscriptions. And he says *Cromwell* was ever uneasy when a good Man was prosecuted, as the Earl of *Carlisle* told him.

The Protector's Gentleness, he adds, had very much compos'd the Peoples Minds; and by maintaining the Honour of the Nation Abroad, he gratify'd the *English* Vanity, having the same Respect or greater paid to his Ministers, than was paid to any Crowned Head.

Here the Bishop gives us some Instances of the Dread foreign Nations had of him; some of the Sailors of *Blake's* Fleet, he tells us, having been ashore at *Malaga*, and ridiculed the Procession of the Host, for which they were severely drubb'd, *Blake* commanded the Town to deliver up the Priest that had rais'd the Mob upon his Men, threatening to lay their Town in Ashes if they refus'd. Whereupon the Governor sent off the Priest to the Admiral, who having reprov'd the Priest's Insolence, dismiss'd him without further Punishment; letting him know at the same time that he would have punish'd his Sailors severely, if Complaint had been made

made to him, for he would not have them affront the establish'd Religion in any Place; but *Englishmen* were to be punish'd only by *Englishmen*. The *Dutch*, he says, were so much afraid of him, that if King *Charles* or his Brothers came to see their Sister the Princess of *Orange*, the States would immediately send a Deputation to them to let them know that *Cromwell* requir'd the States not to harbour them: Tho' he observes they made no Scruple of harbouring and protecting the Rebel *English* in King *Charles's* Reign, and insolently told King *Charles* they had not the same Dread of him they had of *Cromwell*. That the Court which *Cromwell* most caref'd was *Sweden*, whose King even *Algernon Sidney*, our Author says, would commend, as having just Notions of publick Liberty.

Italy, the Bishop observes, was in a pannick Fear during the Life of *Cromwell*; and even the *Turks* durst not offend him, but deliver'd up *Hide*, who was the King's Ambassador at the Port, and sent him to *England*, where he was executed as a Traitor to *Cromwell*; and that he also put the Brother of the King of *Portugal's* Ambassador to Death: And here our Author takes an Opportunity to tell us that *Cromwell* fill'd all Employments, especially the Courts of Justice, with worthy Men, which might rais'd his Character.

Cromwell, he observes, dy'd of so slight an Indisposition, that his Death was unexpected: That his men were weak but honest Men; and *Richard*, the eldest, who was declar'd Protector; (on the Nomination of *Cromwell*, as was pretended, but our Author doubts it,) was neither bred to Business, or capable of it. That both the Royalists and Presbyterians fancied he favoured them, tho' he appear'd Independent: That the Commonwealth's men claim'd against his assuming the Protectorship, as
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an high Usurpation, but the City of *London*, and almost all the Cities and Counties of *England*, sent up Addresses of Condoleance and Congratulation. And our Author says *Tillotson* told him, that a Week after *Cromwell's* Death, he was accidentally at *White-hall*, where a Fast was kept, and several Independents holding forth in the Presence of *Richard*, they reproach'd their God with *Cromwell's* Services, demanding why he would take him away so soon: And particularly *Goodwin* (who had assured them, in a Prayer a little before the Protector expired, that he was not to die) complained that God had deceived them: And another of them praying for *Richard* said, *Make him the Brightness of the Father's Glory, and the express Image of his Person.*

R E M A R K S.

There is hardly any thing more labour'd in this Posthumous Work, than the Character of *Cromwell*: Our Author indeed at first seems to give him up, as not to be defended in his Rebellion, Regicide, and numberless Oppressions; but afterwards he entertains us with so long a Catalogue of his Virtues and Accomplishments, and puts such specious Colours on his basest Actions, that an ambitious Man wou'd not be asham'd or afraid to imitate him in his most daring and impious Practices; especially if he cou'd hope to meet with so indulgent an Historian. But as the good Bishop has omitted some Part of his Hero's Character, and disguis'd and misrepresented many Facts relating to the rest, it may be proper to observe what other Historians have said of the Usurper, before we form a Judgment of him.

From Mr. *Echard* we learn, that he was the younger Branch of an antient and considerable Family in the County

County of *Huntington*, and born in the Town of *Huntington*, in the Year 1599, whose Father being a younger Brother, allow'd the keeping of a publick Brew-house to his Wife, who was Daughter to Sir *Richard Steward*, and whose Name alone was believ'd to have some Influence upon the Son's Actions: His Education partly was in the University of *Cambridge*, and partly in *Lincoln's-Inn*, of which he made no great Advantage; but for some Years after his Return, he led a debauch'd, riotous and boisterous Course of Life, to the manifest Disturbance of all the Neighbourhood, and to the Ruin of his paternal Estate; which caus'd his Uncle and Godfather Sir *Oliver Cromwell* utterly to discard and reject him. At length, being reformed, and falling into the Hands of some Puritan Divines, he ran into the contrary Extremes, and seem'd overgrown, in a short time, with Rigidness and Enthusiasm, and imitated and practis'd all the Peculiarities, both as to the Prayers and Sermons of the most precise of that Party. He was a Person of a deep Thought, of a rough and unpolish'd Conversation, and of a resolute and aspiring Temper, and ready to head any Faction, as he boldly did, in the Year 1638, against the King, and some Lords who became Undertakers for the draining of the Fens: He joined himself to those who pretended to Transports and Revelations; and, as his own Physicians observ'd, was himself a most splenatick Person, often troubled with Dreams and Fancies, and strange Presages of his future Greatness; and yet still the most distinguishing Part of his Character was a radical and original Hypocrisy, which he cultivated with such indefatigable Pains, and exquisite Art, that it is always turned to his Use and Benefit. Having spent most of a second and better Estate, which had been left him by the Death of his Uncle *Steward*, he
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got to be elected Member of the long Parliament, for the Town of *Cambridge*, chiefly by the Interest of Mr. *Hambden*, whose Kinswoman he had married. At first he made but a small Figure in the House, and was much inferior to the Leaders. Sir *Philip Warwick* describes his first Appearance there; a Gentleman speaking very ordinarily, apparelled in a plain Cloth Sute, made by an ill Country Tailor; his Linen mean, and not very clean; his Band unfashionable, with a Speck or two of Blood upon it; his Hat without a Hat-band; his Sword close to his Side; his Countenance swoln and reddish; his Voice sharp and untunable; and his Elocution full of Fervour; and defending some Libels against the Queen, was much hearkened to. But he soon improved, and shewed himself another Man; and, by the help of good Cloaths, Conversation and Success, appeared of a great and majestick Deportment, and of a lofty and comely Presence: Towards which, he had singular Advantages from two great Masters, Mr. *Pym*, and Mr. *Hambden*, who cunningly made use of his bold and enterprizing Spirit, at a time when he had nothing to lose, and very much to expect.

At the breaking out of the War, this Gentleman had a Commission given him by the Parliament, to be Captain of a Troop of Horse; which he soon rais'd in his own native Country, where he shewed himself more openly against the King, than any other Officer, and told his Men, when they were first mustered, that he would not cozen them by the perplexed Expressions in his Commission, to fight for King and Parliament, therefore if the King chanced to be in the Body of the Enemy, he would as soon discharge his Pistol upon him, as any private Person; and if their Conscience would not permit them to do the like, he advised them not to list themselves under him.

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But notwithstanding this blustering and malicious speech, we find our Hero at *Edge-hill* acting an inglorious Part, according to Sir *William Dugdale* and *Roger Manley*, who tell us, that *Oliver Cromwell*, when a Captain of a Troop of Horse in the Earl of *Essex's* Regiment, absented himself from the Battel, and observing from the Top of a neighbouring Steeple the Disorder the right Wing sustain'd from Prince *Rupert*, he was so terrify'd, that slipping down in haste by a Bell-rope, he took Horse, and run away with his Troop; for which Cowardice he had been cashier'd, had it not been for the powerful Mediation of his Friends, *Ech. p. 348.* But possibly when he had serv'd an Apprenticeship in the Rebel Armies, his Courage might improve; and therefore I shall say no more upon that Head, but proceed to other Parts of his Character. Mr. *Echard* tells us, that Archbishop *Williams* waiting upon the King in the Year 1644 at *Oxford*, declar'd, that *Cromwell* was the most dangerous Enemy his Majesty had; and though he was at first of a mean Rank, he would soon climb higher. I knew him, said he, at *Bucklen*, but never knew his Religion; being a common spokesman for Sectaries, and maintain'd their Part with Stubbornness. He never discourf'd as if he were pleas'd with your Majesty, and your great Officers; and indeed he loves none that are more than his Equals. Your Majesty did him but Justice in refusing his Petition against Sir *Thomas Steward* of the *Isle of Ely*; he takes them all for his Enemies that would not let him undo his best Friends; and above all that live, I think he is the most mindful of an Injury. He talks openly, that it is fit some should act more vigorously against your Forces, and bring your Person into the Power of the Parliament. He hates the Earl of *Essex*, because, he says, he is but half an Enemy to your Majesty, and has done you more Pa-

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vour than Harm. His Fortunes are broken, that it is impossible for him to subsist, much less satisfy his Ambition, but by your Majesty's Bounty, or by the Ruin of us all in a common Confusion. In short, every Beast has some evil Properties, but *Cromwell* has the Properties of all evil Beasts.

There is another Passage in the same Author, which is a further Confirmation of *Cromwell's* Hypocrisy. He tells us, that an Officer seeing *Cromwell* hold the King's Hand, between his own, while he made his Promises, washing it with his Tears; when he came out, he ask'd the Officer, whether he had not acted his Part well? Who answer'd, Were you not in earnest? *Not in the least, reply'd he,* for which that Officer ever after detested him, and acquainted the King, what a Devil incarnate he had to deal withal. *Ech. Hist. p. 638.*

And his Malice towards the King is sufficiently evident from his Behaviour, when his Majesty rejected those Bills at the *Isle of Wight*, the passing of which would have been, in effect, a Surrender of his Sovereignty.

My Lord *Clarendon* acquaints us, that hitherto no Man had mentioned the King's Person without Duty and Respect, and only lamented, that he was misled by evil and wicked Counsellors; who being removed from him, he might, by the Advice of his Parliament, govern well enough. But now upon the Refusal to pass these Bills, every Man's Mouth was opened against him with the utmost Sauciness and Licence; each Man striving to exceed the other in the Impudence and Bitterness of his Inveective. *Cromwell* particularly declar'd, that the King was a Man of great Parts and great Understanding, (Faculties they had hitherto endeavour'd to have him thought to be without) but that he was so great a Dissembler, and so false a Man, that he was not to

be trusted; and concluded, that they should no farther trouble themselves with sending Messages to him, or farther Propositions, but enter upon those Councils which were necessary towards the Settlement of the Kingdom, without having farther recourse to the King. Those of his Party seconded this Advice, with new Reproaches upon the Person of the King, charging him with such abominable Actions as had been never heard of, and could be only suggested from the Malice of their own Hearts.

But what could be more villanous and shocking, says Mr. *Edward*, than that the Usurper should have the Assurance to pretend Liberty for all Men, and by the help of that Pretence to make all Men his Slaves? To take up Arms against Taxes of two hundred thousand Pounds a Year, and to raise them himself to above two Millions? To quarrel for the Loss of three or four Ears, and to strike off three or four hundred Heads? To fight against an imaginary Suspicion of two thousand Guards, to be rais'd for the King, and to keep up no less than forty thousand for himself? To undertake the Reformation of Religion, to rob it to the very Skin, and then expose it naked to the Rage of all Sects and Heresies? To fight against the King under a Commission for him; to take him forcibly out of the Hands of those for whom he had conquer'd him; to draw him into his Net with Protestations and Vows of Fidelity, and then to butcher him with as little Shame as Conscience or Humanity, in the open Face of the World? To pretend the Defence of Parliaments, and violently to dissolve all, even those of his own Calling, and almost chusing? Perfidiously to debase, and ingratefully to supplant his own General first, and afterwards most of those Officers, who with the Loss of their Honour, and ha-

zard of their Souls, had mounted him to the Top of his unreasonable Ambitions? Equally to break his Faith with all Enemies and all Friends, and to weep, cant, and dissemble, and no more regard the most solemn Perjuries, than the looser Sort did customary Oaths? To usurp three Kingdoms without any Shadow of the least Pretensions, and to govern them by Councils of Rapine, Courts of Murder? *&c.* To seek to entail this Usurpation on his Posterity, and with it an endless War upon the Nation? And lastly, by the severest Vengeance of Heaven to die impenitent, harden'd, and raving mad, with the Curses of the present, and the Detestation of future Ages? To all which may be added, that he broke the Balance of *Europe* by assisting the *French*, and weakning the *Spaniard*; and whereas he found the Commonwealth, as it was then call'd, in a ready Stock of eight hundred thousand Pounds, he left the Commonwealth, as he still was pleas'd to call it, about two Millions and a half in Debt, and the Navy of *England* in a sinking deplorable Condition. *Ech. Hist. p. 735.*

Clar. Vol. III.
P. 431.

As for his Compassion and Clemency, the Lord *Clarendon* has given us a remarkable Instance of them at the Siege of *Tredah* in *Ireland*: The Enemy enter'd the Works, he says, without Resistance, and put every Man, Governour, Officer, and Soldier to the Sword; and the whole Army being enter'd the Town, they executed all manner of Cruelty, and put every Man that related to the Garrison, and all the Citizens, who were *Irish*, Man, Woman, and Child, to the Sword; and there being three or four Officers of Name, and of good Families, who had found some Way, by the Humanity of some Soldiers of the Enemy, to conceal themselves for four or five Days, being afterwards discover'd, they were butcher'd in cold Blood. In this Action *Cromwell* had

had the sole Command; and the Happiness both of the Clergy and Laity may be gathered from the Account the Lord *Clarendon* gives us of his Administration after he was made General. This, says the noble Historian, made no Alteration in the Army, which he had modell'd to his own Mind before, and commanded as absolutely: But in all other Places he grew more absolute, and more imperious; he discountenanc'd and suppress'd the Presbyterians in all Places, who had been supported by *Fairfax*: The Independents had all Credit about him, and the Churches and Pulpits were open to all kind of People who would shew their Gifts there; and a general Distraction and Confusion in Religion cover'd the whole Kingdom, which rais'd as general a Discontent in the Minds of the People; who finding no Ease from the Burthens they had so long sustain'd, but an Increase of the Taxes, and Impositions every Day, grew weary of their new Government, and heartily prayed, that their General might never return from *Scotland*, but that he being destroyed there, the King might return victorious into *London*.

*Clar. Vol. III.
Part. II.
P. 374*

His Treatment of the Loyalists, who were a Majority of the Nation, we learn from the same noble Historian. Those who fled from *Worcester*, he says, and were not kill'd, but made Prisoners, and all the Foot, and others who were taken in the Town, except some few Officers, and Persons of Quality, were driven like Cattle with a Guard to *London*, and there treated with great Rigour, and many perished for want of Food; and being inclos'd in little Rooms, till they were sold to the Plantations for Slaves, they died of all Diseases.

Ibid. p. 374

He tells us further, that *Cromwell* caus'd several high Courts of Justice to be erected, by which many Gentlemen of Quality were condemn'd and ex-

Ibid. p. 435

executed in many Parts of the Kingdom, as well as in *London*, who had been taken Prisoners at *Worcester*, or discover'd to have been there. And that the Terror might be universal, some suffered for loose Discourses in Taverns, what they would do for restoring the King, and others for having blank Commissions found in their Hands, sign'd by the King, though they had never attempted to do any thing thereupon, nor for ought appeared, never intended to do. And under these desolate Apprehensions, all the Royal and Loyal Party lay groveling and prostrate, after the Defeat of *Worcester*.

Clar. Vol. III.
Part II.
p. 490.

In another Place we are told, that he prosecuted all those who had been of the King's Party with the utmost Rigour, laid new Impositions upon them, and upon every light Rumour of a Conspiracy, clapp'd up all those whom he thought fit to suspect, into close Prisons; enjoyn'd others not to stir from their own Houses, and banish'd all who had ever been in Arms for the King, from the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and laid other Penalties upon them, contrary to the Articles granted to them, when they gave up their Arms, and to the Indemnity upon making their Compositions. He made by his own Authority, and that of his Council, an Order, That all those who had ever born Arms for the King, or had declared themselves to be of the Royal Party, should be decimated, that is, pay a tenth Part of all that Estate which they had left to support the Charge which the Commonwealth was put to, by the Unquietness of their Temper, and the just Cause of Jealousy which they had administered. And that the Publick might lose nothing of what he had so frankly given to it, Commissioners were appointed in every County, to value what the tenth Part of every such Estate did amount to; and that no Man might have too good

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a Bargain of his own, every Man was oblig'd to pay as much, as those Commissioners judged fit; and till he paid it, besides Imprisonment, which was a Judgment apart, and inflicted once or twice a Year, as the Jealousies wrought, his whole Estate was sequestred: And in this Decimation, there was no Consideration taken of former Compositions, of any Articles of War, or of any Acts of Pardon and Indemnity, which had been granted under their Great Seal, without Enquiry into their Actions, or so much as accusing any of them of any Crime or Guilt, or of having any Correspondence with the King, or of any Body trusted by him; or that they were in any Degree privy to the late Designs or Insurrection.

At length the Earl of *Clarendon* acquaints us, that he constituted out of the Persons who he thought were most devoted to himself, a Body of Major Generals; that is, he assign'd to such a single Person so many Counties, to be under his Command as their Major General; so that all *England* was put under the absolute Power of twelve Men, neither of them having any Power in the Jurisdiction of another, but every Man in those Counties which were committed to his Charge, had all that Authority which was before divided among Committee Men, Justices of Peace, and several other Officers. The Major General committed to Prison what Persons he thought fit to suspect; took care to levy all Monies which were appointed by the Protector and his Council, to be collected for the Publick; sequestred all who did not pay their Decimation, or such other Payments as they were made liable to, and there was no Appeal to any of their Acts but to the Protector himself.

Clar. Vol. III.
Part. II.
P. 584.

Clar. Vol. III.
Part II.
p. 646.

And how the Tyrant enjoy'd himself when he had despoil'd the People of all their Liberties and Properties, and reduc'd them to a State of Slavery, the same noble Historian tells us, *viz.* That he never had the same Serenity of Mind he had been used to: That he was much more apprehensive of Danger to his Person than he used to be, insomuch, as he was not easy of Access, nor so much seen abroad; and seem'd to be in some Disorder, when his Eyes found any Stranger in the Room, upon whom they were still fixed. When he intended to go to *Hampton-Court*, which was his principal Delight and Diversion, it was never known till he was in the Coach, which Way he would go, and he was still hemmed in by his Guards both before and behind, and the Coach in which he went was always thronged as full as it could be, with his Servants, who were armed; and he seldom returned the same Way he went; and rarely lodged two Nights together in one Chamber, but had many furnished and prepared, to which his own Key conveyed him and those he would have with him, when he had a mind to go to Bed: which made his Fears the more taken notice of, and publick, because he had never been accustomed to those Precautions. But notwithstanding the Dread and Confusion he was in, he never made the least Shew of Remorse for any of his Actions. The Earl observes and adds, that no Man with more Wickedness ever attempted any thing, or brought to pass what he desired more wickedly, and more in the Face and Contempt of Religion and moral Honesty.

After so many Instances of Hypocrisy, Cruelty, Injustice and Oppression; after we have seen the Tyrant trampling upon all Laws and Institutions, Sacred as well as Civil; when we have observ'd that

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Confusion, that Dread and Horror that attended him in the height of his Power; how can Posterity look upon the Usurper as a brave Man?

By the Word *brave*, I understand, at least, a Man of Courage and Generosity, (brutal Fierceness will never pass for Bravery) and what Courage, what Generosity did that Usurper manifest? Did not three fourths of the Nation, at least, lie groveling at his Feet in a miserable distress'd Condition, without Hopes of Redress from him, and every Day added new Hardships to the former? If he suffer'd his Judges to administer Justice among his own Creatures, and those of his Party; if he suffer'd them to divide the Spoil which they had plunder'd the Royalists of, with an equal Hand; is this to be cry'd up and magnify'd as an unanswerable Instance of his Regard to Justice? Some Shew of Equity must be maintain'd, even among Pirates and Robbers, or the Society will infallibly dissolve? But where are the Instances of the Tyrant's Justice or Generosity to his Enemies the Royalists? Which of them did he restore to their Estates and Honours? and to which of them did he offer any Post in the Administration, unless to our Author's Father? But to proceed: Can we call him a *brave* Man, and admire his Courage, who was perpetually distracted with the Fears of Death; whom neither his Armour nor his numerous Guards could restore to any tolerable Tranquility of Mind? *Julius Caesar* bravely declar'd, he would much rather die than be continually under the Apprehensions of dying: He was also remarkable for his Generosity to his Enemies, and endeavour'd, by all imaginable Ways, to reconcile those he had subdued; and though by many unjustifiable Actions, 'tis true, he rais'd himself to Sovereign Power; yet by his future Conduct he did justly acquire the Character of a brave

Prince; and by his equitable Government made the World fond of his Administration. But what was there properly brave or generous in the Constitution of this impious Rebel? What Security had Men of their Lives, of their Liberties or Properties, during his Tyranny? How was all Religion entirely banish'd, Trade ruin'd, the Treasury exhausted, the Publick run in Debt, and the Royal Navy almost destroy'd; while he himself remain'd under the utmost Horror and Consternation; not out of any Remorse for the numerous Villanies he had been engag'd in, but lest those he had betray'd and impos'd on by his hypocritical Pretensions, should execute that Vengeance upon him he was conscious he deserv'd?

But after all, how impious or infernal soever the Practices of this Usurper may appear, I cannot come in to Mr. *Echard's* Account of his signing a formal Contract with the Devil: Many of the Facts related by Mr. *Echard* possibly might be true, and yet no manner of Witchcraft in the Case. The most probable Account I have received of that Matter, I shall upon this Occasion take an Opportunity to communicate to the Publick.

Cromwell, it seems, early in the Morning, on the Day the Battle of *Worcester* was fought, was to meet one of the King's Party, whom he had corrupted, to give him an Account of the Strength and Disposition of the Royal Army; and for his Treachery, and some former Services, this false Brother was to have a Grant of some Estate or Pension, for a certain Number of Years; and it was thought proper to conceal his Disloyalty, that he might be of further Use to *Cromwell*, and secure himself in all Events.

Cromwell therefore took no Body with him but Colonel *Lindsey*, his intimate Friend, and first Cap-

tain

tain of his Regiment; and to prevent all possible Discovery, this Spy appear'd under the Disguise of an old Man. *Cromwell*, having receiv'd the Intelligence he wanted, proceeded to sign the Grant he had promis'd, and some Words arose about the Duration of the Term; which it was very easy for Colonel *Lindsey* to mistake, under the dismal Apprehensions *Echard* represents him. He was sufficiently tainted; it seems, with the Superstition of the Times; Stories of Wizards and Apparitions were then more firmly believ'd than any Article of the Creed: *Oliver* also, it is suppos'd, who knew his Weakness, endeavour'd to raise and encourage these Apprehensions in the Colonel, in order the better to conceal his unknown Friend. When *Oliver* return'd to the Colonel, and assur'd him the Day was their own, this confirm'd him in his Whimsy of an infernal Contract; for nothing but the Devil, he concluded, could foretel the Success of the Battel; though 'tis very possible *Cromwell* might have a moral Assurance of Victory, upon the Relation he had receiv'd of the Strength and Situation of the King's Forces, and upon that cry out, *Now the Day is our own*. But I leave the Reader to conjecture, whether this or Mr. *Echard's* Relation be the most probable.

A B R I D G M E N T.

The good Bishop having attended *Cromwell* to his Grave, proceeds to give an Account of the mock Reign of his stupid Son.

When the Parliament met, he says, an Attempt was made to get honest *Richard* recogniz'd Protector, but his Friends cou'd not carry it: On the other hand, *Fleetwood*, who married *Ireton's* Widow, assembled a Council of Officers, who resolv'd to lay him aside; which was no difficult Matter, the Bishop

shop observes, having neither Genius, Friends or Treasure to support him; and deeply in Debt, occasion'd by his Father's pompous Funeral. When it was propos'd to set him aside, our Author says, he only desir'd Security for the Debts he had contracted, and then withdrew, and became a private Man again, without the least Reluctance. His Brother also, who was Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and had the more Spirit of the two, thought fit to resign, on *Richard's* quitting the Government: Had either of them had the Spirit of their Sister *Falconbridge*, the Bishop thinks, they would not have parted with Sovereign Power so easily.

Upon *Richard's* Resignation, the Rump resumed their Power; but were soon deprived of the Administration again by the Army. The Enthusiasts now became exceeding fierce, our Author says, and threatned to destroy all the antient Records and Statutes, which were made, they held, by a Succession of Tyrants and Papists; and therefore determin'd to new-model all, and institute a spiritual Government, compos'd of Saints and Levellers.

This was so mad a Proposal, our Author observes, that it occasion'd other Schemes to be thought of, which produc'd equal Diversion and Contempt, and made it seem necessary to call home the King, that so the Government might return to its old Channel.

Upon *Lambert's* turning the Rump out of doors, Application was made to *Monk*, the Bishop tells us, to declare for them; by which was generally understood declaring for the King: But he kept himself on the Reserve, and profess'd in the most solemn manner his Zeal for a Commonwealth, and his Aversion to the Reign of a single Person, particularly of King *Charles II.* and some were of Opinion he designed to set up for himself, the Bishop says, while others

others thought he had no certain Design, but determined to act as Occasion offered.

That upon *Monk's* March to *England*, when *Lambert* advanc'd against him with seven thousand Horse, he sent to advise with the Lord *Fairfax*; who assur'd him he would be join'd by the County of *York*. That *Fairfax* having assembled about one hundred Gentlemen and their Servants, the 1st of *January*, 1659, an *Irish* Brigade in *Lambert's* Army, consisting of one thousand two hundred Horse, deserted to *Fairfax*; whereupon *Lambert* found himself under a necessity of retreating towards *London*; *Monk* follow'd him; and when he had joined *Fairfax*, made him a Compliment of the Chief Command; which the Lord *Fairfax* refus'd, but pressing *Monk* to declare for a free Parliament, he return'd such ambiguous Answers, that this Lord knew not what to depend on. *Lambert*, before he reach'd *London*, was entirely deserted, made Prisoner, and afterwards committed to the *Tower*; from whence he found means to escape, and raise some Troops in *Northamptonshire*; but they were soon dispers'd by *Ingoldsby*, and he was made Prisoner a second time. Here our Author relates an Observation made by *Cromwell*, when he and *Lambert*, some Years before, were at *Northampton*, upon their March for *Scotland*; the People, it seems, shouting, and wishing them Success, *Lambert* appear'd much pleas'd, to see the Nation, as he term'd it, on their Side: But *Cromwell* told him, those very Persons would shout as loud if they were both going to be hang'd; which *Lambert* look'd upon as propheticall, upon his being made Prisoner at *Northampton*.

After *Lambert's* Defeat, all Men's Eyes were fix'd upon *Monk*, and great caballing there was among all sorts of People. The Presbyterians, the Bishop tells us, would have had the Royalists left the Game entirely

entirely in their Hands; pretending that the Royalists appearing would give a Jealousy, and prejudice the King's Affairs. When *Monk* came first to *London*, and was press'd to declare himself, he pretended only to restore the Rump, whom *Lambert* had turn'd out of Doors; but the Rump and he grew exceeding jealous of each other, while they seem'd to vie who should give the best Language, and in strongest Terms express their mutual Confidence.

From these Transactions at Home, we are led to take a View of the King's Affairs Abroad: His Majesty, he says, about this time was soliciting his Affairs with the Ministers of *France* and *Spain*, at *Fontarabia*; the more effectually to recommend himself to those Courts, his Majesty went several times to *Mars*, our Author informs us; but hearing how Affairs went in *England*, he return'd in Haste to *Flanders*, and from thence went to *Breda*. Here the Bishop laments that his Friend *Lockhart* did not make his Fortune, by putting *Dunkirk* into the King's Hands, of which he was Governor; but he says *Monk* still protesting to him that he would be true to the Commonwealth, *Lockhart* slipp'd his Opportunity.

The Story of *Monk's* breaking down the City-Gates, by the Command of the Rump, in order to render him odious to the City, is next remembred; and his sending to the Citizens the same Evening, to assure them of his good Intentions towards them: Upon which he was invited to a Feast in the City, and Rumps were publicly burnt that Evening at Bonfires, in Derision of that End of a Parliament, which had long gone under that Name; and *Monk* declared for restoring the secluded Members to their Seats, who were no sooner in the House, but they concurr'd with the People without Doors, in calling a new Parliament; which was appointed to meet the 1st of May.

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As to the Army, which appear'd not well satisfi'd at these Proceedings, they were dispers'd about the Kingdom in small Parties, distant from one another, to prevent their entring into any Combinations to prevent the Settlement of the Nation. And there were no more Forces than were necessary quarter'd about the City, and those such as seem'd best affected. And thus, he observes, that great Turn was effected, without Tumult or Bloodshed; of which indeed *Monk* had the Praise and the Reward, but the Bishop was told, he says, a very small Share belong'd to him. Admiral *Mountrague* at this time commanded the Fleet, and being gain'd for the King soon brought over the Seamen, with as little Opposition as had been found in the Army. The Republicans, in the mean time, ran about like Madmen, to spirit up their Party; but they were as Men amaz'd out of Sleep, and had neither Skill nor Courage to oppose what was doing.

The Elections of Parliament went every where against them; they saw themselves lost, and were confounded; every one studied only to save himself; and they saw how deceitful that Argument drawn from their Successes had been, which in a great measure depended on the Courage or Dexterity of their Armies or Officers; while here they observ'd the People, without consulting or concerting Measures with one another, tho' they had long continu'd in a fierce Opposition to the Royal Family, all on a sudden joining as one Man to restore the King to the Throne of his Ancestors.

It was one great Happiness, our Author observes, that during the Civil Wars no foreign Troops had been introduced among us; but he thinks, upon the Peace between *France* and *Spain*, it was very probable they would have united their Forces to bring in the King; and it was very happy the Nation was beforehand with them.

Chancellor *Hyde*, the Bishop tells us, was very active at this Juncture: He sent over Dr. *Morley* to prepare the Presbyterians; wrote Letters in the King's Name to all the great Men, and persuaded the King himself to write many obliging Letters. Many conscious of their Guilt, sent over considerable Presents to his Majesty, promising to make amends for their Miscarriages by their future Conduct. The Management of all this, he says, is to be ascrib'd solely to the Chancellor, scarce any other had a Share in it, and he kept a Register of all the King's Promises, and his own, and endeavour'd afterwards with all his Might, to procure the Performance of them: That he suggested at the same time many wise Counsels to his Majesty, but he thinks it was too much with the Air of a Governour, or a Lawyer.

The Convention being assembled, the Bishop observes, they were very unanimous, except in one Point, and that was the putting Conditions on his Majesty; nor were they much divided in this, it seems, for it was mov'd only by Judge *Hales*, he tells us, and seconded but by one Person, whose Name he has forgot. Upon this Motion, General *Monk* rose up, and told the House, that though there was yet beyond all Men's Expectation a universal Quiet in the Nation, there were many Incendiaries still upon the watch, ready to throw all into Confusion again, of which he had repeated Informations sent him, and he would not answer, either for the Peace of the Nation, or the Army, if any Delay was made in sending for the King; and if they had any Propositions to make his Majesty, they might as well offer them after his Arrival, for he brought neither Army nor Treasure with him to fright or corrupt them; and concluded with a Motion to send Commissioners forthwith to invite the

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King

King over, or he should lay all the Blood and Confusion that might follow on their Heads, who opposed his Motion to bring the King over; whereupon the House resounded with Shouts of Joy, and *Hales's* Motion, he says, was no more heard of.

Our Author is willing to acknowledge, that *Monk* in this did great Service, but says, it was chiefly owing to the Post he possess'd, and to the Credit he had gain'd: For, as to the Restoration itself, the Tide run so strong, that he only went into it dextrously enough to get the Honour and Reward of it; and had he died soon after, he would have been more admir'd, because less known, and seen only in an advantagious Light; but he liv'd long enough to let Men see how much they might be deceiv'd by outward Appearances.

The Bishop here seems to lament the admitting King *Charles* to sit upon the Throne of his Ancestors, without putting some Conditions or Restraint upon him; and to this he would have us ascribe all the Errors of his Reign. He says, when the Earl of *Southampton* observ'd what a Prince he was like to make, he told Chancellor *Hyde* with a great deal of Warmth, that the Nation ow'd whatever it fear'd or felt to him. If he had not given them such a Character of his Majesty in his Letters, they would have put it out of his Power to do himself or the Nation any hurt: To which the Chancellor reply'd, That he look'd upon the King to be a Prince of that Judgment, and of so much good Nature, that when the Age of Pleasure should be over, and he came to apply himself to Affairs of State, he would abandon those Diversions, which, for want of other Employment during his Exile, he seem'd addicted to.

REMARKS.

REMARKS.

General *Monk*, whom we hitherto have been made to believe, had the most considerable Share in the Restoration of King *Charles II.* is by this Author allowed to have very little hand in it; but the whole Merit and Honour of that great Event is devolv'd on his good old Friends the Presbyterians: *Monk* was by no means capable of conducting such an Enterprize, he thinks. I shall therefore enquire what the Earl of *Clarendon* relates of this great Man, from whence we shall be able to judge, whether he deserves that Opinion the World has hitherto entertain'd of him.

That noble Historian informs us, that he was a Gentleman of a very good Extraction, of a very antient Family in *Devonshire*, always very loyally affected: Being a younger Brother, he enter'd early into the Condition and Life of a Soldier, upon that Stage where some of all *Europe* then acted between the *Spaniards* and the *Dutch*, and had the Reputation of a very good Foot Officer in the *Rothmere's* Regiment in *Holland* at the time when he assign'd it to the Command of Colonel *Coring*. When the first Troubles began in *Scotland*, *Monk* and many other Officers of this Nation left the *Dutch* Service, and betook themselves to the Service of the King. In the beginning of the *Irish* Rebellion, he was sent thither with the Command of the Lord *Leicester's* own Regiment of Foot (who was then Lieutenant of *Ireland*) and continued in that Service with singular Reputation of Courage and Conduct. When the War broke out in *England* between the King and the Parliament, he fell under some Discountenance, upon a Suspicion of an Inclination to the Parliament, which proceeded from his

his Want of Bitterness in his Discourses against them, rather than from any Inclinations towards them, as appear'd by his Behaviour at *Nantwich*, where he was taken Prisoner, and remain'd in the *Tower* till the End of the War.

The Lord *Lisle*, who had great Kindness for him, and good Interest in the Parliament, with much Importunity, endeavour'd to persuade him to take a Commission in that Service, and offer'd him a Command superior to what he had ever had before, which he positively and disdainfully refus'd to accept; tho' the Streights he suffer'd in Prison were very great, and he thought himself not kindly dealt with, that there was neither Care for his Exchange, nor Money sent for his Support.

When the War was at an end, and the King a Prisoner, *Cromwell* prevail'd with *Monk*, for his Liberty and Preferment, to engage himself again in the War of *Ireland*. And from that time *Monk* continu'd very firm to *Cromwell*, who was liberal and bountiful to him, and took him into his entire Confidence: And after he had put the Command of *Scotland* into his Hands, he fear'd nothing from those Quarters. Nor was there any Man in either of the Armies, upon whose Fidelity to himself *Cromwell* more depended. And those of his *Western* Friends who thought best of him, thought it to no purpose to make any Attempt upon him whilst *Cromwell* liv'd; but as soon as he was dead, *Monk* was generally look'd upon as a Man more inclin'd to the King than any other in great Authority, if he might discover it without too much Loss or Hazard. His elder Brother had been entirely devoted to the King's Service, and all his Relations were of the same Faith; He himself had no Fumes of Fanaticism to turn his Head, nor any Credit

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with, or Dependance upon, any who were sway'd by those Trances.

Upon the several sudden Changes in *England*, and the Army's possessing it self of the entire Government, *Monk* saw he should be quickly overrun and destroy'd by *Lambert's* Greatness, (of which he had always great Emulation) if he did not provide for his own Security; and therefore when he heard of his March towards the *North*, he used all Inventions to get Time, by entring into Treaties, and in hope that there would appear some other Party that would own and avow the Parliament's Interest, as he had done; nor did he then *manifest* to have more in his Purpose than his own Profit and Honour, under the Establishment of that Government.

When he heard of *Lambert's* being past *York*, and his making haste to *Newcastle*, and had purg'd out of his Army all those whose Affections and Fidelity were suspected by him, he called together an Assembly, somewhat resembling a Convention of the States of *Scotland*, which he had subdued to all imaginable Tameness; though he had exercised no other Power over them than was absolutely necessary to reduce that People to an entire Submission to that tyrannical Yoke: In all his other Carriage towards them, but what was in order to that End, he was friendly and companionable enough; and as he was fear'd by the Nobility, and hated by the Clergy, so he was not unbelov'd by the common People, who receiv'd more Justice and less Oppression from him than they had been accusom'd to under their own Lords. When this Convention appear'd before him, he told them that he had receiv'd a Call from Heaven and Earth to march with his Army into *England*, for the better Settlement of the

the Government there; and tho' he did not intend his Absence should be long, yet he foresaw that there might be some Disturbance of the Peace which they enjoyed, and therefore he expected and desir'd that in any such Occasion they would be ready to join with the Forces he left behind, in their own Defence. In the second Place, which was indeed all he car'd for from them, he very earnestly press'd them that they would pay in a present Sum of Money out of the Arrears of their Taxes, for supplying the Necessities of the Army, without which it could not well march into *England*,

From the time that he had settled his Government in that Kingdom, he had shewed more Kindness to, and used more Familiarity with such Persons as were most notorious for Affection to the King: *But it was the King's greatest Happiness that the General never own'd his Purpose to serve his Majesty, till it fell to be in his Power; and indeed was the best thing in his Power to do: If he had declar'd his Resolution sooner, he had been destroy'd himself, the whole Machine being so infinitely above his Strength that it could be only moved by a divine Hand: And it is Glory enough to his Memory, that he was God's Instrument in bringing those mighty Things to pass, which undoubtedly no one Man living had of himself either Wisdom enough to foresee, or Understanding to contrive, or Courage to attempt and execute.*

When the Parliament found themselves at so much Ease, and so much without Apprehension of farther Insecurity, they heartily wish'd that General Monk was again in his old Quarters in *Scotland*: But as he continued his March towards *London* without expecting their Orders, so they knew not how to command him to return, whom they had sent for to assist them, without seeing him, and giving him

An EXAMINATION of

Thanks and Reward for his great Service; yet they sent to him their Desire, that a good Part of his Forces might be sent back to *Scotland*; and he having sent back as many as he knew would be sufficient for any Work they could have to do in those *Northern* Parts, continued his March with an Army of about five thousand Foot and Horse, consisting of such Persons in whose Affections to him he had full Confidence. When he came to *Tork* he found that City in the Possession of the Lord *Fairfax*, who receiv'd him with open Arms, as if he had drawn those Forces together, and seiz'd upon that Place, to prevent the Army's possessing it, and to make *Monk's* Advance into *England* the less interrupted.

The principal Persons of all Counties through which the General pass'd, flock'd to him in a Body, with Addresses for a free Parliament; the City of *London* sent a Letter to him, by their Sword-bearer, as far as to *Morpeth*, to offer their Service, and concluded also for a free Parliament, legally chosen by the free Votes of the People. He received all with much Civility, and few Words; took all Occasions publickly to declare that nothing should shake his Fidelity to the present Parliament, yet privately assured those who he thought it necessary should hope well, that he would procure a free Parliament; so that every Body promis'd himself that which he most wish'd.

He continu'd his March with very few Halts, till he came to *St. Albans*; there he stopped for some Days, and sent to the Parliament, that he had some Apprehension that those Regiments and Troops of the Army who had formerly deserted them, tho' for the present they were return'd to their Obedience, would not live peaceably with his Men, and therefore desir'd that all the Soldiers (except one or

two Regiments which he named) who were then quarter'd in the *Strand*, *Westminster*, or other Suburbs of the City, might be presently removed and sent to more distant Quarters, that there might be Room for his Army. This Message was unexpected, and exceedingly perplexed them, and made them see their Fate would still be under the Force and Awe of an Army: However, they found it necessary to comply, and sent their Orders to all Soldiers to depart; which, with the Reason and Ground of their Resolution, was so disdainfully receiv'd, that a Mutiny did arise amongst the Soldiers, and the Regiment that was quarter'd in *Somerset-house* expressly refus'd to obey those Orders; so that there were like to be new Uproars: But their Officers, who would have been glad to inflame them upon such an Occasion, were under Restraint, or absent, and so at last all was well compos'd, and Officers and Soldiers remov'd to the Quarters assign'd them, with Animosity enough against those who were to succeed them in their old ones: And in the beginning of *February* General *Monk*, with his Army, march'd thro' the City into the *Strand* and *Westminster*, where it was quarter'd, his own Lodgings being provided for him in *Whitehall*.

He was shortly after conducted to the Parliament; there he had a Chair appointed for him to sit in, and the Speaker made him a Speech to this effect: That tho' it was God and not Man who had done this great Work, and ought to have the Glory of it, yet the Influence of that Glory extended to him the Instrument, as a Reward of his prudent and wise Conduct: That when their Friends had left them, and there was a great Defection in Duty and Trust, so that the whole Nation seem'd to be expos'd to the utmost Ruin, they discern'd, as the Prophet did, a little Cloud afar off, and in his

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Hand, which had dispers'd the Miseries of these Nations, and was become a glorious Mercy to them all; that the House had a true Resentment of his Service, and return'd their hearty Thanks to him, and all his Officers and Soldiers.

The General was not a Man of Eloquence or Volubility of Speech; but after having thank'd them for the Honour they had done him, for but doing his Duty, he told them, that in his March from *Scotland*, several Applications, with numerous Subscriptions had been made to him for a full and free Parliament, for admittance of the secluded Members without any previous Oath or Engagement, and that this Parliament would determine their Sitting; to all which he had answer'd, That they were now a free Parliament, and that they had voted to fill up their House, and then they would be a full Parliament, and that they had already determined their Sitting: But as for the secluded Members, this Parliament had already given Judgment in it, in which all People ought to acquiesce, and that to admit any Members to sit in Parliament without a previous Oath to preserve the Government in being, was never done in *England*: But now he crav'd Pardon to say to themselves, that the less Oaths or Engagements were impos'd, their Settlement would be the sooner attained to; that he knew all the sober Gentry would close with them, if they might be tenderly and gently used; that it was their common Concernment to amplify, not to lessen their Interest, and to be careful, that neither the Cavalier, nor the Fanatick Party, should have yet a Share in the Civil or Military Power.

The Earl of *Clarendon* further observes, that he was so exceeding cautious of giving a Jealousy of any Inclination to serve his Majesty, that he would not suffer any of the Royal Party to approach him, though

though he convers'd freely with Persons of every other Interest; and that at a Conference with the Chiefs of the Presbyterians at *Northumberland-House*, who were for putting *Conditions* on his Majesty, the General propos'd the severest; insomuch, that the rest doubted, whether he had any Inclination to restore the King: But this I take to be a further Proof of his great Zeal, and far from being an Evidence of his Aversion to restore the King; for we are told, that soon after falling into Conversation with his Kinsman, Mr. *Morrice*, who was elected a Member of Parliament, and understanding how impatiently the King's Restoration was long'd for from that time, even in the Opinion of all Men, the General took all possible Measures to promote the Restoration, and had a private Conference with Sir *John Greenville*, his Majesty's Agent, how to accomplish it. And the noble Historian informs us, that tho' the General was offer'd all the Authority that *Cromwell* had, and the Title of King, he generously refus'd them, and us'd all his Endeavours to advance the Interest of his Majesty.

As for that Relation in *Echard*, (which he gives us from Mr. *Locke*, a Dependant of Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper's*, afterwards Earl of *Shaftsbury*) that the General being promis'd Assistance from *France*, resolv'd to set up for himself, and that he had actually attempted it, if he had not been discover'd, and diverted from it by Sir *Anthony*, this deserves very little Credit; for tho' Mr. *Locke's* Veracity be not call'd in Question in this Case, and he might hear it from his Patron, yet it is notorious, even from our Reverend Author, how great a Share of Vanity Sir *Anthony* had, and how little Truth was to be expected from him, when he spoke of himself. He would have had the World believe, that *Cromwell* even offer'd to make him King, if we give any

Credit to our Author; and now we are taught, that the glorious Restoration is to be attributed entirely to his Dexterity: Either of these Facts appear so ridiculous, that they need no other Confutation than the repeating them.

But that the General should be robb'd of the Glory of the King's Restoration, when it is agreed by all, he took the properest Measures imaginable to effect it, and that if he had appeared more forward, or been less reserv'd, the Design must inevitably have miscarried, seems to be an ungenerous Treatment of that great Man; whatever his Thoughts might be before he knew how the Nation stood affected, the Earl of *Clarendon* acknowledges, that after he was acquainted with the Inclinations of the People, he serv'd his Majesty to the utmost of his Power, and that *without making any Conditions for himself*; even our Author tells us, that when it was propos'd in the Convention to put Conditions on the King, he strenuously oppos'd it, though at that Juncture he could not have fail'd of obtaining the most advantageous Conditions for himself and his Friends, if he had insisted on them.

But 'tis observable, our Author does not only question the General's Sincerity, but in several Parts of his History reflects also on his Parts and Abilities, though this can sure have very little Influence upon those that are acquainted with his Story. Is not his Honour and military Skill, while he serv'd the King in the Beginning of the War, celebrated by the Earl of *Clarendon*? Was he not afterwards made Choice of by *Cromwell*, to serve him in the most difficult Enterprizes both by Sea and Land, in which he ever came off victorious? Is not his Government in *Scotland* applauded both by the Bishop and the Earl; and are not the reforming his Troops, the concerting his March to *England*, and his Ad-

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dress in treating with the Rump, sufficient Testimonies of his admirable Conduct? and those very Reflections on his want of Sincerity, or declaring against Monarchy at that critical time when he came to *London*, is no great Argument of his Weakness; and though he is blamed for prevaricating with the Saints on this Occasion, yet surely his openly opposing the Oath of Abjuration, which the Rump were preparing to obstruct the Restoration, does more than balance that seeming Compliance: For by this brave Stand, he prevented the Nation being again involved in the Guilt of solemn Perjury, and even after the Restoration, in the decline of Life, his Military Conduct deserves to be commemorated. How bravely did he engage the *Dutch* Navy in the Reign of King *Charles II.* and once with forty Ships fought the whole *Dutch* Fleet consisting of an hundred Sail and upwards three Days successively? Are these the Actions of so weak, so inconsiderable a Mortal as the Bishop represents this General, or is here any Appearance of his being superannuated? And when the Plague raged in *London*, Anno 1665, and the Court, and most other People of Condition removed to distant Places to secure themselves, how did he remain in Town, and provide for the Necessities of the Sick, and by his prudent Measures prevent the spreading of the Infection?

Surely we must be a very ungrateful People, if after so long a Series of eminent Services we suffer him to be depriv'd of that Glory he has so justly acquired, upon the malicious Suggestions of a Man who hardly knew how to speak well of any but himself: But to make some further Observation on the Story we find in Mr. *Echard*, who says he had it from Mr. *Locke*, viz. that General *Monk* was offer'd the Assistance of *France*, if he would set up for himself; and that the General clos'd with the Proposal,

Proposal, and had attempted it, if he had not been discovered and diverted from it by Sir *A. Aspley Cooper*: If it be true that the *French* Ambassador made the General such a Proposal, how shall we reconcile this with what our Author says, That at the *Pyrenean* Treaty, upon his Majesty's discovering himself to be a Disciple of the Church of *Rome*, both *France* and *Spain* agreed to assist him to recover his usurp'd Dominions? And the Bishop seems so confident of the Truth of this, that he blesses himself, that the Nation was before-hand with them in inviting the King over, and that he was not restored by a foreign Power, as he is assured he would have been, if the People had not voluntarily returned to their Allegiance at that juncture. But there seems so little Foundation for either of these Relations, that neither the King's, or the General's Fame will be much affected by such improbable and innatur'd Suggestions: Nor does our good Bishop in any thing more manifest his Enmity to the Church, and his inviolable Attachment to the Presbyterian Interest, than in the Lamentation he here makes, that the King was not put under Limitations and Conditions before he was suffer'd to set his Foot upon the *English* Shore; for those Conditions the Presbyterians propos'd at this time, we are told by the Earl of *Clarendon*, and other Authors, were the same, or worse, than were propos'd to King *Charles I.* when he was their Prisoner in the *Isle of Wight*: Some of which were, that he should give up the Lives and Estates of his brave Cavalier Friends to the Mercy of the Saints; that he should consent to the Establishment of Presbytery, and the Alienation of the Church Lands; and transfer the Militia, and the Power of raising Taxes to the Brethren without Controul. These were some of the Conditions which our Author, who was *always Episcopal*, would have had

impos'd upon his Majesty; but by the way, this makes it sufficiently evident, that the Restoration was not brought about by the Presbyterians, because none of these Conditions were insisted on; and all Mankind are satisfy'd, that neither the *English* or *Scotch* Presbyterians would ever willingly acknowledge King *Charles* the 1st, or 2d, but on these Terms: Of this numerous Instances might be produced, even in this very posthumous History; so that in our Author's Words on another Occasion, they (the Presbyterians) only dextrously went in, or were carried away by a Current which was not to be resisted. The People had experienc'd, and were surfeited with the Hypocrisy and pretended Sanctity of the Sectaries. They found, that whatever Hopes they pretended to in the other World, and their seeming Mortifications in this, their real Intentions were to ingross as much of this as they could, to make their fellow Subjects Slaves, and rob them of their Estates, under pretence, that Dominion was founded in Grace: So that next to *Monk's* prudent and steady Conduct, the Restoration is certainly to be ascribed to the general Bent and Inclination of the People towards it, and their Abhorrence of the detested Principles and Practices of their *quondam* Masters.

I shall conclude the Vindication of General *Monk* with a short Citation or two out of some modern Writers. Dr. *Skinner*, in his Life of General *Monk*, says, that by his Prudence he baffled all his Enemies, and unravell'd all the Labyrinths of their crooked Subtilty: By the same Virtue he preserv'd to himself the continued Affection and Kindness of his Majesty, which shin'd upon him to the Evening of Life without the Interruption of the least Cloud; and p. 383. he says, perhaps there is not an Instance in History of any Man who ever perform'd such great

great Services, and discover'd so little Inclination to mention them, or hear them mention'd by others. And Bishop Kennet in his compleat History of *England*, Vol. III. p. 297. and Mr. Echard in his History, p. 863. respectively observe, that General Monk was a Person, who, by the Blessing of Heaven, had been a wonderful Instrument of restoring Peace and Happiness to the three Kingdoms, of which his Majesty retain'd a most grateful Remembrance, without any Deviation or Degree of Jealousy, which is apt to rise in Crown'd Heads, upon Account of extraordinary Obligations.





AN EXAMINATION

OF
Bishop *BURNET*'s
HISTORY of his Own Times.

BOOK II.

ABRIDGMENT.



OUR Author, by way of Introduction to his second Book, tells us, that he chooses to divide the Reign of King *Charles II.* after the Restoration, into two Parts, consisting of twelve Years each; for of the first twelve Years, he says, he had only such a general Knowledge of the Affairs of *England*, as he could pick up at a Distance. Whereas he lived upon the Spot, and had

had a Share in the Transactions in *England* the last twelve Years; he entertains us, therefore, he says, during the first Period, chiefly with the Ecclesiastical Affairs of *Scotland*, and particularly with the Conduct of the *Scottish* Bishops, which he hopes may prove very instructive to those of his own Order; and as he resided upon the Place, and nicely observ'd the Errors committed at the first introducing Episcopacy, and during the Continuance of it in that Kingdom, he looks upon himself well qualify'd to set that Matter in a true Light.

When the Restoration was agreed on, many went from *Scotland*, he says, to attend his Majesty; and *Sharpe* particularly was sent to manage the Affairs of the Resolutioners, but carried with him a Letter from the Earl of *Glencairn* to *Hyde*, wherein he was recommended as the fittest Person to be concern'd in the setting up Episcopacy in *Scotland*, and was thereupon taken into great Confidence. *Sharpe*, he says, copy'd after *Monk*, making the most solemn Protestations against the King, and for a Commonwealth, both by Word of Mouth, and Letters, of which our Author pretends he saw several, and says, that *Sharpe* would appeal to God for the Sincerity of his Intentions; and both in his Prayers, and on other Occasions, utter the most dreadful Imprecations if he did prevaricate; and notwithstanding he was maintain'd by the Presbyterians as their Agent, and gave them an Account from time to time of the Progress of his Negotiations in their Service, he was all the while undermining them, which gave People, he says, such a Specimen of his Dissimulation and Treachery, that they could never after be brought to have tolerable Thoughts of him.

From

From this Character of Archbishop *Sharpe*, he proceeds to tell us, that upon the King's Return, an extravagant Joy spread over the whole Kingdom, and Men then threw off the very Professions of Virtue and Piety: Entertainments and Drunkenness were so universal, that the People's Morals were much corrupted, and under Colour of drinking the King's Health, great Disorders were committed. That on the other hand, the Enthusiasm and hypocritical Pretensions of others, furnish'd Matter sufficient for the Mockers of true Piety; and those who had been concern'd in the late Usurpation, thought they could no way better make their Court than by swimming with the Stream, and laughing at all Religion, repeating or inventing Stories to expose themselves and their Party.

R E M A R K S.

Notwithstanding our Author acknowledges himself unequalled to give a just Account of the Transactions in *England* during the first twelve Years after the Restoration, by reason of his being so far distant from the Scene of Action, the Reader will find few Writers speak more copiously, or more positively, both of Men and Things in *South Britain*, during that Period, than the Bishop does; and the Reader, not only upon the Account of the Author's Absence, but in consideration of his Youth, of that notorious Bias he carries towards the Presbyterian Interest, and that remarkable Faculty he has of misrepresenting and confounding Facts with one another, will probably give this part of his History that Credit it deserves.

He begins this Book with an Invektive against Dr. *Sharpe*, Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, of which I shall make some Observations, but leave it to his honourable

honourable Relations fully to vindicate his Grace, as they must be much better qualify'd for such an Undertaking, than a Native of *England* can be.

And, in the first place, it appears something strange that the Presbyterians should employ Dr. *Sharpe* to manage their Affairs at the *Hague*, when he was known to be the properest Instrument for restoring Episcopacy, and employ'd at the same time by the Earl of *Glencairn* to negotiate that Matter with Chancellor *Hyde*. As to what he adds, that the Doctor had observ'd the Success of *Monk's* solemn Protestations against the King, and therefore resolv'd to copy after him; if Dr. *Sharpe* ever made such solemn Protestations, it must be before he could see what Success *Monk* would have; for no Body can suppose he should protest against the King, when he went to invite him over, by the Direction of the Brethren, unless we can suppose both the Principals and their Agent void of common Sense; therefore these Protestations and Imprecations, if there were any such, must be at a time when all People thought the Restoration of the Church and Monarchy impossible, and the present Powers so well establish'd that there was no shaking them; and then an honest Man might innocently enough protest against any formed Design of promoting an Alteration, either in Church or State; tho' when that surprizing Turn happened he might entertain other Thoughts, and joyfully give into Measures which he in his Heart always approved. But our Author, according to his usual Custom, here artfully jumbles the Transactions at *Breda* with Protestations that were made long before the Restoration was thought of: And tho' we should admit all the Facts he relates to be true, yet if we place them in that Order of Time they were transacted, they may be no manner of Reflection on his Grace's

Character;

Character; at least, he must be allow'd not to be a whit more to blame than many others for whom our Author seems to have a particular Veneration. And if Dr. *Sharpe* did no more than copy after General *Monk*, and the General's Conduct is capable of a favourable Interpretation, why may we not extend the same favourable Construction to his Grace's Management? But with what Indignity and ill Manners does our Author constantly treat the greatest Ministers in Church and State whom he has a mind to calumniate? When he has mark'd out a great Man for Destruction, he never fails to strip him of his Titles and Honours, like a Malefactor going to Execution, and then the Mob are call'd upon to insult him; for the Purpose, he hardly gives the Archbishop so much as the Title of Doctor, as often as he mentions him, but plain *Sharpe* throughout: And whoever he treats at this rate, the Reader will find is certainly destin'd to be the Subject of his Malice; and if the speaking evil of Dignities be a Mark of a hardned abandon'd Wretch, what a Character has our Author given Posterity of himself in this posthumous History?

The Bishop having express'd his Malice against the most considerable Instruments concern'd in the Restoration, proceeds in his impotent Endeavours to cast an Odium upon the Restoration itself.

An extravagant Joy, he says, spread over the Nation, and Men threw off the very Professions of Virtue and Piety; all ended in Entertainments and Drunkenness, and the People were corrupted in their Morals, &c.

But what does the good Bishop mean by throwing off the Profession of Virtue and Piety? Were Piety and Virtue only in Esteem during the Usurpation? Was it the People's returning to their Duty and Allegiance to their natural Prince, that pro-

duced that Flood of Impiety and Prophaness, which he says succeeded? No, he himself can't entirely resist the Force of Truth on this Occasion, but is compell'd to acknowledge, that the Enthusiasm and Hypocrisy of that Race of Saints contributed much to the prophane Mockeries he complains of. But to come to the Point; I am really at a loss to discover wherein Religion suffer'd at the Restauration. If Revenge, Censoriousness, Evil-speaking, Perjury, Robbery, Sacrilege, Injustice, Oppression, Murder, Rebellion, impious Pretences to Inspiration, a consummate Hypocrisy, and a decrying of all Morality, and overturning every Religious and Civil Institution; if this be Religion, then was the Time of the Usurpation the most religious Period that is to be found upon Record. These were indeed all usher'd in *in the Name of the Lord*. The despoiling both Prince and People of their Lives and Estates, was ever attended with long Prayers and Fasting; and so calm and undisturb'd, so far from Remorse were these Men, when they had violently seiz'd the Possessions of the Cavaliers, that they even gave God Thanks when they cut the Throats of the Owners, and sent their Families to beg their Bread. The Godly, that is themselves only, were worthy of the good Things of the Earth, the rest of Mankind they look'd upon as a pack of Reprobates, who had no Title to any thing in this World or the next, unless to exquisite Misery here, and eternal Flames hereafter: Such was the Justice, such the Piety and Charity of those Men, and such the Happiness of those Times, our Christian Bishop laments the Change of.

Well, but an extravagant Joy spread over the Nation, from whence, according to the Bishop's own Way of arguing, the People must have been extremely miserable under their godly Masters, or they would

would never have rejoiced so extravagantly on their Deliverance; and can we blame them, when every Man's Life, Liberty, and Estate was at the Disposal of the Usurpers, and a standing Army of forty thousand Men ready to execute their arbitrary Orders? Can we blame them, I say, when from these wretched Circumstances they found themselves on a sudden restored to the full Enjoyment of their Lives, Liberties, and Estates; if they seem'd a little elated? Upon this happy Change, if ever, sure a Man might be allowed to be merry with his Friends.

And admitting that Drinking and hospitable Entertainments became more frequent than during the Reign of the Saints, and that some Excesses happened at those Meetings, I question whether the Covetousness, Ill-nature, and Censoriousness of the preceding Times did not much over-balance any thing of this kind; and I am much mistaken, notwithstanding the pretended Debauchery and Dissoluteness of the Times after the Restoration, if Arts and Sciences, Trade and Manufactures, Experimental Philosophy and Navigation, and the *English* Language, were not more improv'd during the Reign of King Charles II. than in the Space of a hundred Years before: And as to Religion, Did there not also arise a Multitude of eminent Divines, who improv'd the Method of Preaching, and shewed us the Beauty and Reasonableness of the Christian Religion, teaching us to distinguish true Piety from the Freaks of Enthusiasm, and Religion, from Bigotry and Superstition?

By these were the dark Clouds of Ignorance dispell'd; our Morals improv'd; our Views enlarg'd; and that groveling narrow Spirit, so natural to the Sectaries, exploded; and universal Goodness and Benevolence, the surest Mark of true Religion, heighten'd

ten'd and improv'd: May our Views or our Charity never be so restrain'd and limited, as to be confin'd to one little Sect or Party, as it generally was in those dark Times: May we never absurdly hold with them, that the Universe was only made for the Inhabitants of this Corner of the Earth to gaze at, or the Merits and Passion of the Son of God only to be applied to the Sectaries that swarm in *Britain*: May we never return to their sordid Spirit, or to that *Egyptian* Darkness our good Bishop so emphatically laments the Loss of; but may that hospitable, sincere, and undissembled Freedom, so conspicuous in the Reign of *Charles II.* ever be preferr'd to that morose, sour, and unsociable Temper, for which the Saints of the preceding Times were so remarkable.

A B R I D G M E N T.

We are next entertain'd with the Character of the King, who was then about thirty Years of Age, and might have been suppos'd, the Bishop says, to have conquer'd the Levities of Youth.

His Majesty had a good Understanding, quick Apprehension, and a happy Memory, he acknowledges, and was well vers'd in the State of Affairs, both at home and abroad: There appear'd in him also such a Softness of Temper, as charm'd all that approached him, he says, till they discover'd how little they could depend on him; for he was liberal in his Promises to Excess, but intended no more by them, than to rid himself of People's Importunity. He seem'd to have no Sense of Religion, our Author says, and when he attended Divine Service, took care to shew the People, how unconcerned he was at what was doing; and thus far he thinks he must clear him of any Hypocrisy.

He

He told the Author once, he says, that he was no Atheist, but could not think God would make a Man miserable only for taking a little Pleasure out of the Way: That he disguis'd his Popery to the last, but he could not help inveighing against the Liberty People took, under Colour of Reformation, of enquiring into Religion, and from thence into Matters of State, and that Government was a much easier thing, where the Authority was thought infallible, and the People paid an implicit Obedience.

That the Way to enjoy his Conversation, was to appear easy, and make every thing appear easy to him; and from the Observations he had made of the *French* Government, he look'd upon a King that might be controul'd, and his Ministers call'd to account by a Parliament, to be but a King in Name: That he had a great Compass of Knowledge, but was not capable of much Application or Study: That he understood the Mechanicks, Physick, Chymistry, and Navigation, and the Building of Ships, better than became a Prince: That he was an everlasting Talker, and though he told Stories well, he repeated them too often: He thought that there was neither Sincerity in Men, or Chastity in Women, upon Principle; but the Appearance of either was to be imputed to Humour or Vanity: He imagined none serv'd him out of Love, and he lov'd others as little: That when his Ministers had any Work for him to do, he would attend as long as any of them: That the Ruin of his Reign, and all his Affairs, was the abandoning himself to Pleasure at his first coming over; his Concubine, the Duchess of *Cleveland*, he says, was a great Beauty, but enormously vicious, foolish, and imperious; made the King very uneasy, pretending to be jealous of him while she was carrying on Intrigues with other

Men: That his Majesty was so fond of her, and her Behaviour so strange towards him, that he was often not Master of himself, and not capable of minding Business, but left every thing to the Earl of *Clarendon*, to whose Counsel he submitted as to an Oracle.

R E M A R K S.

As to the Character of King *Charles II.* the Reader will find it done by the late Duke of *Bucks.* and other great Hands in the first Part of the Review, and therefore I shall not attempt it here, but only make some Observations how well the Bishop agrees with himself, as well as others, in the Character he has given us of this Prince.

The Bishop p. 199. observes, that *France and Bery were the Spring of all his Majesty's Counsels*; and yet in p. 93. he says, he had no Sense of Religion. Page 258, that the King was much disgusted at the Ambition, Covetousness, and ill Lives of the Clergy, and that he rewarded his Chaplain with a Bishoprick for taking Pains in his Cure; and p. 614. that his Majesty express'd both Zeal and Affection for the Church of *England.* Page 94. he says, *the King was never capable of Application, and hated Business*; and yet in the same Page he tells us, when it was necessary, he would attend it as long as there was occasion: And p. 272, that the King became a common Solicitor, not only in publick Affairs, but even in private Matters; and would go round the House of Peers, and speak to every Man he thought worth speaking to. Page 608, that the King spent much time in his Laboratory: And in another Place, that he acquir'd considerable Skill in the Mathematicks, Navigation, &c. encourag'd useful Discoveries, and founded the famous Royal Society,

ciety. And in p. 191, our Author speaking of Dr. Tillotson, Stillingsfleet, and other great Divines who appeared in this Reign, and much reform'd the Way of preaching, as he observes, is compell'd by the Force of Truth to declare, that much of this Reformation is to be ascrib'd to his Majesty in the following Words, viz. The King had little or no Literature, but had true and good Sense, and had got a right Notion of Style; for he was in *France* at a time when they were much set on reforming their Language. It soon appear'd that he had a true Taste; so this help'd to raise the Value of these Men, when the King approv'd of the Style. Their Discourses were generally clear, plain, and short: They gave a short Paraphrase of their Text, unless where great Difficulties requir'd a more copious Enlargement, and even then they cut off unnecessary Shews of Learning, and applied themselves to the Matter, in which they open'd the Nature and Reasons of Things so fully, and with that Simplicity that their Hearers felt an Instruction of another Sort than had commonly been observ'd before, so they became very much follow'd; and a Set of these Men brought off the City, in a great measure, from the Prejudices they had formerly to the Church.

Page 611, our Author says the King shew'd more Care of his Person than became one who had so much at Stake; yet at the same time we are told he diverted himself in so unconcern'd a manner as if he had been in no Danger at all: And p. 250, that when the *Dutch Fleet* came up to *Chatham*, he appear'd so cheerful and unconcern'd, that he was compar'd to *Nero*, who sung while *Rome* was a burning. And in the very next Line, that he rode thro' *London*, attended by the most popular Noblemen, and assur'd the Citizens he would live and die with them.

I shall proceed now to shew how the Bishop, in the Description he gives of the King, agrees with other Writers.

Burnet, p. 93. says, the King was then (*viz.* at his Restoration) thirty Years of Age, had a Softness of Temper which charm'd all till they found how little they could depend upon good Words, kind Looks, and fair Promises, in which he was liberal to Excess, because he intended nothing by them, but to get rid of Importunities: He seem'd to have no Sense of Religion, &c.

Dr. Charlton says that his Majesty's natural Endowments were highly improv'd by a numerous Train of Accidents commonly unknown to other Princes; his Mind was adorn'd with such Virtues as might, if they had continued, have prov'd a perpetual Source of Happiness to himself and Kingdom, as Justice, Fortitude, Temperance, Clemency and Sobriety.

Burnet, p. 611. During his Exile he deliver'd himself up so entirely to his Pleasures, that he became incapable of Application.

Sir Stephen Fox, on the contrary, declared that the King was the best OEconomist he ever met with in his whole Life; his Majesty could not have chosen a more convenient Retreat, or Place where he would be more civilly treated than *Cologne*, who now (in 1654) betook himself with great Chearfulness to compose his Mind to his Fortune, and with singular Satisfaction prescrib'd so many Hours in a Day to his Retirement in his Closet, which he employ'd in reading and studying both the *French* and *Italian* Authors; and at other times walked much upon the Walls of the Town, and sometimes rid into the Fields; and in the whole he spent his Time both to his Benefit and publick Reputation.

Burnet

Burnet, p. 611. He had great Vices, but scarce any Virtues to correct them.

Sir William Temple. No Prince had more Qualities to make him loved, with a great many to make him esteem'd, and all without a Grain of Pride and Vanity in his Constitution: Nor could he suffer Flattery of any kind, growing weary upon the first Approaches of it.

Duke of Bucks. His Temper of Body and Mind was admirable; which made him an easy, generous Lover; a civil, obliging Husband; a friendly Brother; an indulgent Father; a good-natur'd Master.

Burnet, p. 611. He had an Appearance of Gentleness in his outward Deportments, but he seem'd to have no Bowels nor Tenderneſs in his Nature: He was apt to forgive all Crimes, even Blood itself; but never forgave any thing done against himself, after his first general Act of Indemnity, which was reckon'd rather done upon Maxims of State, than Inclinations of Mercy.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 769. The King's own Clemency was apparent and remarkable; and it was his Opinion, both before and after his Arrival, that the best means to restore the decay'd Body of the Kingdom to its former Health, was not to cure one Part by afflicting of the other, but to heal those Wounds which were already fester'd by their proper Lenitives, and to remove all the Causes of future Animosity.

Burnet, p. 613. His Person and Temper, his Vices as well as Fortunes, resemble the Character we have given of *Tiberius*: His Art of covering deep Designs, particularly Revenge, with an Appearance of Softness, brings them so near a Likeness, that I did not wonder much to observe a Resemblance both of their Face and Person.

Wetwood's Memoirs, p. 131, 132. In Contradiction to all the common receiv'd Rules of Physiognomy, he was merciful and good-natur'd; indeed excepting *Tiberius's* Temper, Cruelty, Jealousy and unnatural Lusts, any that's acquainted with both their Stories will easily find something of a Parallel betwixt them: Nor is this any Reflection on the Memory of King *Charles*, for, except in what I named, *Tiberius* may be reckon'd amongst the wisest and bravest of those that wore the imperial Purple.

Burnet, p. 620. The King was dead, and so all the Court went immediately and paid their Court to him (the Duke of *York*); Orders were presently given for proclaiming him King. It was a heavy Solemnity, few Tears were shed for the former.

Echard, p. 1047. Sure it is, that since the Murder of his Father, there was never a deeper Sorrow, nor more Tears shed in *England*, than appeared upon the first News of the Death of this beloved Monarch, which was look'd upon as the greatest Calamity and Misfortune that could befall the Nation.

Before I leave this Head, give me leave to take notice of another malicious Reflection cast on the Memory of King *Charles II.* viz. p. 614. where our Author says his Majesty's contributing to raise the Greatness of *France* was such an Error that it could not flow from Want of Thought, or of true Sense; and that they that judg'd most favourably of it, thought it was done out of *Revenge* to the *Dutch*, that joining with *France* he might be able to destroy them. Others thought, that seeing he could not quite master or deceive his Subjects by his own Strength and Management, he promoted the *French* Greatness, that by their Assistance he might more certainly subdue his own People.

Now

Now if it appear, (as I am satisfy'd it must, to any impartial Man that consults the Transactions of that Reign) that the King might have, and actually had, other Views in humbling the *Dutch*, than either the revenging himself upon them, or subduing his own People, and that he never design'd the Ruin of the *Dutch*, or the enslaving his own Subjects, but supported, and effectually assisted the *Dutch* with a great Body of his Forces, and actually put a Stop to the Progress of the *French* Arms, and timely prevented the Ruin of the States; and that his Majesty had it more than once in his Power to render himself absolute at Home, and yet declined it; then, in our Author's Words, will not these black Reflections, flowing from blacker Designs, justly amaze all those that read Bishop Burnet?

And first, as to the *Dutch*; are any of us at this Day ignorant of the Encroachments they have made upon the *English* Trade, and that their State arriv'd at that Grandeur we see them by the Devastations they have made on our Colonies and Factories; and even in this very Reign of King Charles II. and before the *Dutch* War, that they actually invaded the *British* Plantations, and destroy'd our Merchant Ships upon the Coasts of *Africa*, in the *West-Indies*, and elsewhere; deny'd to acknowledge the Sovereignty of the King of *England* in the *British* Seas, or to pay their Tribute for fishing in our Coasts, as they had done in the preceding Reign; notwithstanding they make greater Advantages by it than by any one Branch of their Trade? Add to this, that the Parliament of *England*, sensible of these repeated Affronts and Encroachments, unanimously advis'd, and even compell'd the King to enter into the *Dutch* War: After all this, I say, how disingenuous is it in our Author, to ascribe the King's Endeavours to procure Satisfaction in these

these Matters *only* to his private Revenge, or a Design to enslave his own People?

True it is, that the King was jealous of the States engrossing the Trade of the World, and not without Reason; and therefore at some times endeavour'd to check their growing Greatness; but when he apprehended these Provinces in Danger of being over-run by the *French*, no Prince ever acted more strenuously or effectually in their Defence; and when the *Dutch* had foolishly clapt up a Peace with the *French*, *Anno* 1678, without the King's Concurrence, and left the *French* in Possession of the Strong Towns in *Flanders* (the Barrier of their State); then did the King immediately send over ten thousand Men to *Flanders*, and compel the *French* to evacuate them; and with these Troops it was that the Prince of *Orange* gain'd the Victory over the *French* at *Mons*, the only Victory the *Dutch* obtained during that War. See both *Echard* and *Kennet's* History of the Year 1678, for the Truth of these Facts; who were far from representing the Actions of King *Charles II.* in a favourable Light.

And now I believe I may leave it to any impartial Man, whether the King design'd the Ruin or Extirpation of the *Dutch*, or to aggrandize the *French* in order to subdue them and his own Subjects; for what could have hindred his Majesty from effecting it at this Juncture? What could have prevented the Ruin of the *Dutch*, if the King had even stood neuter, and much more if he had joined the *French* against them? And he wanted no Encouragement from *France*, that they could think of, to induce him to join them; as Sir *William Temple*, and other Authors of much greater Credit than our romantic Bishop, assure us. A farther Argument we have from the concurrent Testimony of all Writers, that

King

King Charles never intended to enslave his People is, that it was twice entirely in his Power to do it, even without foreign Assistance, and yet he never attempted it; viz. once, at the Restoration; and again, at the latter end of his Reign, when he reign'd so entirely in the Hearts of his Subjects that they would have deny'd him nothing he could have ask'd; and either the King was so dull that he did not apprehend the Advantage he had, or it was very little in his Inclination to make use of it; and as to the Quickness of his Apprehension, even our Bishop will vouch for him.

Add to this, that we must assign a greater Degree of Stupidity to the King than to any Mortal living, if we suppose he could not foresee that when he had enabled the *French* to conquer the *Dutch*, and thereby made them Masters of the *Dutch* Shipping, they would not have been entirely Masters at Sea, and that he himself would have been but an humble Dependant on that Crown. And now having particularly made out the Partiality of the Bishop in this particular, possibly the remaining Parts of this Character will not be entirely depended on, notwithstanding the solemn Asseveration with which he closes it in the Words following, viz. *I have gone through all that I knew relating to his Life and Reign, with that Regard to Truth, and what I think may be instructive to Mankind, which became an impartial Writer of History, and one who believes that he must give an Account to God of what he writes, as well as of what he says and does.*

A B R I D G M E N T.

After that black Account our Author has given us of the King, he proceeds to the Characters of his Ministers, to whom he is much more favourable, ascribing

ascribing every thing that was commendable in the Administration to them, as he had done every thing that was odious and unjustifiable to the King, lest it should be thought contrary to what this infallible Gentleman in other Places has asserted, that he had any Virtues in his Constitution to balance his Vices; not considering, that nothing more demonstrates the Wisdom or Goodness of a Prince, than the Choice of able Ministers.

The Earl of *Clarendon*, our Author says, was grown eminent in the Profession of the Law before the Wars begun, that he had distinguished himself in the House of Commons, and was much trusted by the late King while he was at *Oxford*; that he followed his present Majesty's Fortunes abroad, and was now become his Favourite and prime Minister. He press'd the King to mind his Affairs, he says, in vain, and had such a Regard for his Majesty, that when Men were press'd against his own Advice, yet he would justify the King, and discourage the Pretensions of others with Scorn, which created him many Enemies: That he was a good Chancellor, but too rough, and meddled too much with foreign Affairs, which he did not understand: That he had too much Levity in his Wit for the Post he was in; was haughty, and us'd to treat those that address'd themselves to him, with too much Contempt.

The Duke of *Ormond*, whom our Author styles the next Favourite, he says, was of a graceful Appearance, lively Wit, and chearful Temper; of great Expence, and decent even in his Vices, always keeping up a Form of Religion: That his ill Success in the Siege of *Dublin*, lessen'd the Opinion of his Military Conduct; but his Attendance on the King in his Exile, his Easiness to him, and his Sufferings for him, rais'd him to the Post of Lord Steward of the

the Household, and Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*: He was firm to the Protestant Interest, he says, and firm to the Laws in giving good Advice, but would not complain too much when bad was followed.

As to the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Bishop admits he was eminent both for his Parts and Virtue; that he had merited much in adhering to the King, and sending him Supplies abroad; but he soon grew weary of his Business, he says, being subject to the Stone, and displeas'd with the violent Measures of the Court, and kept more out of the Way than was consistent with his Post. The King stood in awe of him, he says, and chose rather to continue him in his Office, and bear with his ill Humour, than dismiss him, apprehending that would make him too popular. The Business of the Treasury was wholly manag'd by Sir *Philip Warwick*, an honest, but a weak Man, who during seven Years Management of it rais'd but a small Fortune. That *Southampton* disdaining to sell the Places under him, and the Profits that us'd to accrue to the Office by the Estate which was formerly in the Crown being lost, a Pension of eight thousand Pounds per Annum was now annexed to the Post of Lord Treasurer.

The Person in the greatest Credit with the Earl of *Southampton*, our Author says, was Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, afterwards Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who married his Niece: This Gentleman, before he was twenty, came into the House of Commons, he observes, and was at first for the King, but went over to the Parliament, upon pretence of Prince *Maurice's* breaking his Articles with a Town which he had caused to be put into his Hands: He had a wonderful Faculty of speaking in a popular Assembly, mixing the facetious with the serious Way of arguing
very

very agreeably, and a particular Art to make others rely on his Judgment, and of governing Parties, and making himself the Head of them. As to his Religion, our Author thinks he was at best a Deist, and had great Faith in the Stars, but was deceived, he observes, in his Expectations of being greater than ever after his Disgrace; and he imagined that the Souls of the Departed liv'd in Stars: That his Learning was but superficial, and he could triumph in a rambling Way of talking; but argu'd slightly if held to a Point: Had a wonderful Faculty of pulling Things down, but was not so well qualify'd to build up; and his Vanity in setting off himself rendred him very disagreeable, and he even gave out, that *Cromwell* offer'd to make him King.

He was, no doubt, our Author says, of great use to *Cromwell* in managing the Enthusiasts, and press'd *Cromwell* the most of any Man to accept the Crown, which he pretended afterwards was in order to destroy him: What he excell'd in, was his Knowledge of *England*, and the Gentlemen in it: He was so well acquainted with the Size of their Understandings and Tempers, and knew how to apply himself to them so dextrously, our Author observes, that though he often chang'd Sides, yet he was much trusted to the last by the discontented Party. He valued himself on the frequent Changes he had made, and in having done it at the properest Times, and in the best Manner; and this he did with such an Air of Vanity, and so little Discretion, that he lost many of his Friends by it, and his Reputation must have sunk, if he had liv'd a little longer, in the Opinion of our Author, who concludes, that he sav'd his Estate, and his Family, by betraying his Party.

Mr. Amestry

The Lord *Annesly* was a Man much of the same Sort, our Author says, had more Knowledge than the other, and was very learned, principally in the Law; an indefatigable Speaker we are told, but that he spoke ungracefully, and was always attempting Raillery, for which he had no Talent: That he understood the Constitution, was a Man of Gravity, but stuck at nothing, nor was ashamed of nothing: That no Party lov'd or trusted him, for he had no Regard to common Decencies, but sold every thing and himself so often, that he was at last incapable of serving any Man.

The Courage of *Hollis*, and his Pride, were equal, our Author says; he had been long esteem'd the Head of the Presbyterians, and never chang'd Sides: That he oppos'd *Cromwell*, and they hated one another heartily; and that *Hollis* would not allow *Cromwell* to be either wise or brave, and us'd to say, *The Battel was not to the Strong, or Favour to Men of Understanding, but Time and Chance happen'd to all.* He argued well, but too vehemently, and could bear no Contradiction, our Author says, and compares him to an old stubborn *Roman*: That he was a severe, but fair Enemy, and a faithful, but rough Friend: Had a *true Sense of Religion*, and was of an unblameable Life and sound Judgment, if not bias'd by Passion, and was made a Lord for the Share he had in the Restoration.

The Earl of *Manchester*, our Author tells us, was of a soft obliging Temper, and much beloved, being both virtuous and generous, but was of no great Depth.

The Lord *Roberts* was of a morose, cynical Temper, just in his Administration, but vicious under an appearance of Virtue: No Man of that Quality so learned, he thinks; but he was stiff, intractable, obstinate, proud, and jealous, he tells us.

To the last five Gentlemen the Bishop ascribes the happy Restoration, and says, they were all of them rewarded with great Posts by the Earl of *Clarendon* for the Service they did at that Juncture, which he supposes lost him the Hearts of the Cavaliers.

But *Monk* and *Mountague*, our Author observes, were most taken notice of on the King's Arrival; one being made Duke of *Albemarle*, and the other Earl of *Sandwich*, and had both of them the Garter, and great Estates conferr'd upon them. *Monk* and his Wife (who was a mean contemptible Creature) were exceeding voracious, he tells us, always craving and selling every thing in their Power till *Monk* became useless; and then the King shew'd an outward Regard to him for the Appearance of Services he had done him, even after he saw into him, and despised him.

He proceeds to give an Account of some of *Monk's* Relations who were advanced; as Sir *John Greenville*, who was made Earl of *Bath*, and Groom of the Stole; one, he says, who thought of nothing but getting or spending Money; and *Clarges*, his Wife's Brother, an honest but haughty Man, who valued himself on opposing the Court, and husbanding the publick Money: He grew very rich himself, he says, but took care no Body else should in the same Way. *Morrice*, who prevail'd with *Monk* to declare for the King, and was made Secretary of State, he says, was a learned Man, but full of Pedantry and Affectation, and had no true Judgment of foreign Affairs any more than the Duke of *Albemarle*.

Nicholas, the other Secretary, had served the late King faithfully, he thinks, but had no Knowledge of foreign Affairs, and so *Bennet*, afterwards Earl of *Arlington*, was advanced to that Post by the Po-
pish

pish Interest, and rais'd a Party in opposition to *Clarendon*: He was a proud Man, he says, his Parts solid but not quick, and managed the King's Temper beyond all Men: He was thought a Papist, had once profess'd it, and died so, but was utterly against countenancing Popery, which made the Papists his Enemies, and charge him with Apostacy: His great Friend *Charles Berkley*, created Earl of *Falmouth*, our Author says, was the most absolute of the King's Favourites, without any visible Merit, unless his Management of the King's Amours; nor was he less in the Duke of *York's* Favour, than in the King's: *Bennet* and *Berkley* having the Care of the Ladies, *Clarendon's* Enemies, our Author observes, apply'd themselves to them, the Chief whereof were the Duke of *Bucks*, and the Earl of *Bristol*.

The Duke of *Bucks*, he says, had a noble Presence, a lively Wit, and a Faculty of turning every thing into Ridicule, but had no Learning or Principles of Religion, Virtue, or Friendship: A Man of Pleasure, had no Steadiness or Conduct, could not keep a Secret, or execute any Design without spoiling it: He was bred about the King, and had a great Influence over him; but us'd to speak of his Majesty with that Contempt, that he drew a lasting Disgrace upon himself, and ruin'd his Reputation, Body, Mind, and Fortune: His Parts sunk in his Decline; he became sickly, poor, and contemptible, inasmuch, that his Conversation was at last as much avoided, as it had been courted.

His Grace, and the Lord *Percy*, our Author says, contributed much to corrupt the King in his Morals; and *Hobbs* being brought to his Majesty, under a pretence of teaching him the Mathematicks, laid before him his Schemes, both in Religion and Politicks, which made lasting Impressions on the King's Mind.

An EXAMINATION of

Digby, Earl of *Bristol*, our Author allows to have Courage and Learning, and a lively Wit, but no Judgment or Steadiness: He was, he says, in the Queen's Interest at *Oxford*, and always averse to Treaties, imagining, that any Discourses of that Nature, made the Soldiery feeble and fearful; and that the best way to secure them to the King, was to give them hopes of sharing the confiscated Estates among them: That he turned Papist beyond Sea, was a good Speaker, Head of the *Popish* Party, and a violent Enemy to the Earl of *Clarendon*.

Our Author next proceeds to describe the great Men amongst the *Scots*, and begins with the Earl of *Lauderdale*: He was for many Years a zealous Covenanter, he says, but in the Year 1647 espoused the King's Interest, and was made Prisoner at *Worcester* Fight, remaining a Prisoner till a little before the Restoration, when he attended the King in *Holland*: Our Author knew him well, he says, that he made an ill Appearance, being very big, his Hair red, and hanging oddly about him, his Tongue too big for his Mouth, he spit upon those he talk'd to, and his whole Manner was rough and boisterous, and very unfit for a Court: That he understood *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew*, had read much Divinity and History, had a good Memory, and a copious but unpolish'd Expression, and was call'd by the Duke of *Bucks*, a Man of a blundering Understanding, haughty to his Inferiors, but abject to those he was forc'd to stoop to: His Passion often hurried him into fits of Madness, and if he took a thing wrong, it was in vain to attempt to convince him; but if he was let alone, he would come to of his own Accord: The coldest Friend, and the most violent Enemy our Author ever knew, which himself experienc'd; that he seem'd at first to despise Wealth, but afterwards deliver'd himself up to Luxury and Sensuality,

ty, and stuck at nothing to support his extravagant Expences: That he had great Impressions of Religion on his Mind during his long Imprisonment, but these entirely wore off afterwards: That his experience in Affairs, and submitting to the King's Pleasure in every thing, and his proposing the most desperate Counsels, gain'd him the Favour of the King which no Attempts or Complaints against him cou'd ever shake: He was in his Principles an Enemy to Popery and arbitrary Government, and yet his Passions and Interests led him to make way for one, and almost to establish the other: And whereas the plausible Proceedings of some made the Beginnings of Tyranny less discernable and unacceptable, he by the Fury of his Behaviour heightned the Severity of his Ministry, and made it look more like the Cruelty of an Inquisition, than the Legality of Justice: And concludes, that he was all this while a Presbyterian, and retain'd his Aversion to King *Charles I.* and his Party, to the last.

The Earl of *Crawford*, the Lord Treasurer, who had been ten Years a Prisoner with *Lauderdale*, he says was a sincere, but weak Man, passionate and indiscreet, and a zealous Presbyterian.

The Earl of *Rothes*, who married his Daughter, he says, had the Merit of a long Imprisonment to recommend him, was dextrous in the Management of Affairs, of a soft and insinuating Address, a quick Apprehension, and clear Judgment; but had no Learning or Education.

Another of the Lord *Lauderdale's* Friends was the Earl of *Tweedale*: He was well vers'd in the Affairs of *Scotland*; knowing, and of a mild obliging Temper; of an exemplary Life in all respects; as to Ecclesiastical and Civil Government, he thought that which was uppermost ought to be submitted to: He had been of *Cromwell's* Parliament, and had

abjur'd the Royal Family : The Disputes about the Guardianship of the Duchefs of *Monmouth*, to which he pretended, drew him, he fays, into fome Compliances which brought a Cloud upon him; otherwife he was the ableft and worthieft Man of all the Nobility; but a little too fearful and cautious.

The Earl of *Selkirk*, (afterwards created Duke of *Hamilton*, on his marrying the Heirefs of that Family,) he fays, wanted all fort of polishing; he was rough and fullen, but candid and fincere; neither fit to submit or govern; imperious when in Power, and mutinous when out; wrote well, but fpoke ill, his Judgment when calm being better than his Imagination; well vers'd in Law and History, and in the Families of *Scotland*, and feem'd always to have a Regard for Juftice, and the Good of his Country; but of fuch a narrow selfish Temper, that he was not capable of designing or undertaking any thing confiderable.

Bruce, afterwards Earl of *Kincairdin*, having married in *Holland*, became acquainted with the Royal Family there, and had often liberally fupply'd their Neceffities. He was the wifeft and worthieft Man of his Country, and fit to govern any Affairs but his own; neglecting his private Fortunes, even to his Ruin, to attend the Service of the Publick: His Thoughts were flow, and he was yet flow in delivering himfelf, but a deep Judgment appear'd in all his Words and Actions: He had fuch a Love to Juftice, that Friendfhip cou'd never bias him; and his Religion and Virtue fhin'd with great Luftre upon all Occafions: He was a merciful Enemy, and a faithful Friend; particularly to our Author, between whom and this Lord there continued fo entire a Friendfhip, he fays, that there was no Mifunderftanding between them for feventeen
Years;

Years; and by this Lord, the Bishop says, he was let into the Secret of Affairs: That he lov'd the King, and wou'd never give any Credit to our Author, when he prophesied ill of him, but found him at length a true Prophet; and the Affection he retain'd for the King, made his Disgrace lie heavier on him than became so great a Philosopher, and so good a Christian.

From this Set of Courtiers, our Author turns to take a View of the old *Scots* Cavaliers, of whom, he says, the Earls of *Middleton* and *Glencairn* were the chief: These, he observes, were now fierce and full of Courage over their Cups, tho' they had been very sparing of it in the Field, and in the Time of Action, every one boasting he had kill'd his thousands; extolling their Merit and Pretensions to such a degree as all the Wealth of *Scotland* cou'd never satisfy. The cunningest of *Middleton's* Friends, he says, was Sir *Archibald Primrose*, a Gentleman of long Experience, himself and his Father having serv'd the Crown near an hundred Years; he was a Man of great Dexterity, and had Expedients ready in every Difficulty, and so adapted his Discourse to the Sense of those he spoke to, that he made himself Master of their Sentiments, and conceal'd his own; for Words went for nothing with him. He always chose soft Counsels, and slow Methods, and thought a great Man's Business was to raise his Family and Relations: He knew the World too well to depend much on his Friends, and so took no care to make any: His Advice to the Earl of *Middleton* was, to do the King's Business slowly, and his own effectually, before the King should see he had no farther occasion for him.

Sir *John Fletcher*, the King's Advocate, another of *Middleton's* Friends, was of a generous Temper, he says, and contemn'd Wealth, only valuing it as

it was necessary to support a vast Expence: He hated all mild Proceedings, and could not speak with Decency or Patience to those of the other Side, and was dreaded by the Friends of the late Usurpation, as Inquisitor General; whereas *Primrose* took Money of all, and effectually interceded for those who apply'd themselves to him.

There having been no Promises of Indemnity made to the *Scots* at the Restoration, as there were to the *English*, by his Majesty from *Breda*; and the Cavaliers, as our Author tells us, being full of Revenge, hop'd to have had the Estates of the Rebels there divided amongst them: Against which the Lord *Lauderdale* urg'd, that the *Scottish* Nation had eminently, tho' unfortunately, attempted to serve the late King, in the Year 1648: That they had lost two Armies in the Service of his present Majesty, and suffer'd *nine Years Oppression* upon that account, and encourag'd and had assisted *Monk* in this last Expedition; and therefore it wou'd be hard not to extend the same Grace to them he had done to the *English*: That a Difference ought to be made, at least, between those who had deserted the Service and gone over to the Enemy, and those who had only submitted to a superior Force, when they were in no Condition to oppose it; which was thought reasonable. But the Earl of *Middleton*, and his Party, insisted that the Marquis of *Argyle*, whom they charg'd with being accessary to the King's Murder, and some few others, who had join'd in the Remonstrance when the King was in *Scotland*, might be made Examples. The Lord *Lorn*, Son to *Argyle*, our Author says, had always adhered to the King's Interest, and was come to Court, by whom his Father wrote to the King, desiring Leave to wait on him. To which, the Bishop says, his Majesty return'd an ambiguous Answer, unbecoming a Prince.

However, *Argyle* came up to Town, and was immediately committed to the *Tower*, not being permitted to come into his Majesty's Presence. And Orders were sent down for apprehending some others of the most notorious Rebels; among whom was *Waristoun*, our Author's Uncle, but he fled beyond Sea.

The next thing considered of, was the demolishing the Citadels erected in the Kingdom by *Cromwell*, which some held it was necessary to maintain, 'till all things were settled; but *Lauderdale* representing that this wou'd give a general Disgust, and the Earl of *Middleton* and his Party not daring to oppose so popular a Thing, it was agreed to demolish them; which Advice render'd the Duke of *Lauderdale* very popular in *Scotland*.

As to the restoring Episcopacy in that Kingdom, the Bishop says *Lauderdale* advis'd against it, urging that this People ought to be kept quiet and in good Humour, and the Opposition between the two Kingdoms fomented, in order the better to govern both. The King seem'd indifferent, he says, what Ecclesiastical Government was established there; and if the Presbyterians had apply'd to his Majesty, as they were advis'd by *Lauderdale*, they had carried their Point, he believes; but Dr. *Sharpe* lull'd them asleep with a Letter he procur'd from his Majesty, to the Presbytery of *Edinburgh*, in which the King confirm'd the Presbyterian Government; for which *Middleton* expostulated with *Sharpe*, apprehending he had betray'd the Interest of the Church. To which *Sharpe* answer'd, something must be done for quieting the Presbyterians, and the King wou'd be no longer bound by it than while Presbytery was the legal Establishment; and the reversing that wou'd set the King at Liberty. But *Middleton* still blam'd these Proceedings in *Sharpe*, thinking it below the
Dignity

Dignity of a Prince thus to equivocate with his Subjects.

This Letter, the Bishop says, had the intended Effect; the Presbyterians apprehended themselves safe, and began to prosecute the Protesters; and if *Sharpe's* Impatience to get into the Archbishoprick of *St. Andrews* had not wrought too strong, our Author is of Opinion they wou'd have fallen out among themselves, and shewn the Impossibility of maintaining the Government of the Church in a Party; and consequently, the Necessity of introducing Episcopacy to restore Peace amongst them.

His Majesty, he adds, settled a motly Ministry in this Kingdom: The Earl of *Middleton* was made the King's Commissioner for holding the Parliament, and General of the Forces there; the Earl of *Glencairn* was made Chancellor; the Earl of *Lauderdale* Secretary of State; the Earl of *Rothes* President of the Council; the Earl of *Crawford* Treasurer; and *Primrose* Clerk-Register; which the Bishop likens to the Post of Master of the Rolls in *England*. The Earl of *Middleton*, he says, had private Instructions for introducing Episcopacy, which *Lauderdale* was not acquainted with; which he ascribes to *Clarendon's* Management, the King being indifferent in the Matter: An Order also was obtain'd by *Primrose*, for sending back all the *Scottish* Records, which *Cromwell* had brought out of that Kingdom, and lodg'd in the *Tower*; but it being suggested to *Clarendon*, that the original Covenant, which the King had sign'd, was among those Records, they were detain'd till next Winter; and after he had search'd for it, in vain, they were sent back by Sea; but the Ship was cast away, and all the Records lost; which increas'd the ill Humour of the *Scots*.

It was propos'd, our Author says, about this time, to settle a Council for *Scotland* at *Whitehall*, consisting of a Mixture of *Scots* and *English*; which he approves; but it was oppos'd by *Lauderdale*, as being the way to make *Scotland* a Province to *England*: However, this Method prevail'd for two or three Years; but the Earl of *Lauderdale* alter'd it when he came into the Management, that he might be at Liberty to govern that Kingdom as his Pride or Passion guided him.

In *August*, 1660, the Earl of *Glencairn* was sent to *Scotland*, to assemble the Committee of Estates: It seems it had been usual of late, when the Parliament rose, to appoint some of every Estate to sit and act as a Council of State, till the next Parliament, to which they were accountable; and these were the Survivors of those who had been named at *Sterling*, when the King was present there.

Upon the assembling this Committee, ten or twelve of the protesting Ministers also assembled; and *Guthery*, one of their Number, drew up a Paper, wherein they put the King in mind of the Covenant which he had so solemnly sworn; lamenting, that instead of pursuing the Ends of it, he had set up the Common-Prayer, and Episcopacy, in *England*; and they denounc'd the Judgments of God against him, if he did not stand to the Covenant, which they call'd *the Oath of God*.

These Protesters the Earl of *Glencairn* took into Custody, and threatned with great Severities; but soon dismiss'd them all, except *Guthery*, who being Minister of *Sterling*, when the King was there, had revil'd him in a most indecent manner in his Sermons; and being cited to answer it, he refus'd to appear before the King and Council, being only accountable, he said, to the Kirk, and insisted upon his Remedy at Law against the King for disturbing

ing him: Upon the Prosecution of this Man, the whole Party were in a Consternation, and began to talk more modestly in their Pulpits, and did not arraign the Administration in the Language they us'd to do; but still they suggested, *that the Ark of God was shaken, and their Glory departing.*

Many Offenders were summon'd before the Committee of States, and bound over to answer their Misdemeanours in Parliament; the Design whereof, according to our Author, was to fright them into a Compliance with the Measures that were about to be taken; and many of them, he says, redeemed themselves by Presents to *Primrose* and *Fletcher*.

In the End of this Year, the Earl of *Middleton*, our Author says, went down to *Scotland* with great Magnificence: That he countenanc'd all manner of Vice, Drinking especially, which was often continued the whole Night, when many Disorders were committed; which set the People the more against Episcopacy, seeing it promoted by such ill Instruments: There had been, he observes, *a Face of Gravity and Piety*, during the late Rebellion, (*Administration*, he calls it,) which made this Liberty seem more odious.

The Earl of *Middleton*, in his Speech to the Parliament, set forth the Blessings of the Restoration, and the Affection his Majesty bore to that his antient Kingdom, hop'd they wou'd make suitable Returns of Zeal for his Service, restore the just Prerogatives of the Crown, and grant the necessary Supplies to preserve them from such Calamities as they had lately suffer'd: Whereupon the Parliament wrote a dutiful Answer to the King's Letter.

The first Business the Parliament went upon, was the naming the Lords of the Articles, who were a Committee, compos'd of a number of every State, to prepare Business for the Parliament; and no Business

finess was brought into Parliament, but by these; when Matters were prepar'd, they were read in full Parliament, and approv'd or rejected by the whole Body.

In this Parliament an additional Revenue of 40000 *l. per ann.* was settled on the King, for maintaining two Troops of Horse, and a Regiment of Foot-Guards: The Acts which restrain'd the Prerogative were repeal'd, in which all Leagues made with any other Nation, without the King's Authority, were declared treasonable; and consequently, the League and Covenant made with *England*, in 1643, which alarm'd the Presbyterians; but Dr. *Sharpe* told them the only way to preserve their Government, was to let these Acts pass, that they might be no more accus'd as Enemies to Monarchy, and leaven'd with Principles of Rebellion: However, some of the zealous Preachers protested against this Act, and such Protests being treasonable in that Kingdom, *Marquair* was prosecuted for his Insolence; but the Government only banish'd him: Whereupon he went and settled, with some of his Brethren, at *Rotterdam*; where they wrote seditious Books against the Government, and did more Mischief, our Author says, than if they had remain'd in *Scotland*.

The Parliament proceeded to rescind or repeal all the Acts made since the Year 1633; viz. those pass'd by the late King in 1641, and those pass'd by his present Majesty in 1648, (by some of which the Presbyterian Kirk was establish'd,) on account of the Force and Violence that was put on his late and present Majesty: But our Author will not admit that either King was under any Force when they pass'd those Acts, for that their Persons were free, he says.

And our Author says, this Proposal to repeal them

them seem'd so extravagant, that at a private Junta, (which is the Phrase he uses, when he mentions the Consultations of the Ministers of State,) tho' it was well lik'd, it was let fall as not capable of having a tolerable Colour put upon it; but in a Day or two, when they had drank higher, they resolv'd to venture on it. Our Author acknowledges that the Earl of *Middleton* urg'd, that tho' there was no visible Force on the late King, in the Year 41, yet they all knew he was under a real Force, by reason of the Rebellion rais'd in that Kingdom, and the apparent Danger of one ready to break out in *England*; which forc'd him to settle *Scotland* on such Terms as he could bring them to; tho' such an Appearance of a Parliament might be deem'd an Authority for those that acted under it, and therefore a Proviso should be added for their Security.

As for the Parliament of 48, their declaring for the King was commendable; yet they declar'd for the King upon such Terms, and acted so *hypocritically*, that it was just to condemn the Proceedings, tho' the Intentions of many were honourable and loyal; and concluded, *We went into it as Knaves, and therefore no wonder we miscarried in it as Fools.*

This Bill of Repeal being at length put to the Vote, our Author acknowledges it was carried by a great Majority; and the Earl of *Middleton*, he says, pass'd it without any Instructions from the King; alledging, that since the King had by his Letter to the Presbyterians confirm'd their Government as it was establish'd by Law, there was no way left but the annulling all those Laws: This, the Bishop says, was a most extravagant Act, and only fit to be pass'd after a drunken Bout.

The Earl of *Lauderdale*, he says, aggravated this to the King, representing, that the Earl of *Middleton* understood not the first Principles of Govern-

ment,

ment, having without any Warrant given the Royal Assent to a Law that would take away all the Security that Law could give, and cut off all hopes of Peace and Submission, if a Rebellion should happen again; the Earl having at once annull'd the very Parliaments in which two Kings had pass'd Acts of Indemnity: The Earl of *Middleton* hereupon complain'd in Parliament, that their best Services were represented to the King as Blemishes on his Honour, and prejudicial to his Affairs, and desir'd they would send up two of their Body to set their Proceedings in a true Light; and the Earls of *Glencairn* and *Rothes* were pitch'd upon. *Rothes*, our Author says, secretly engag'd himself to both Sides, resolving to take that Part to which he saw the King inclined. With these Lords Dr. *Sharpe* went up, the Bishop says, in order to forward the Establishment of Episcopacy, while its Enemies were under a general Consternation, and otherwise so obnoxious, that they dar'd not oppose it, though *Sharpe*, our Author says, had express'd a great Concern among the Brethren, when the above-mention'd Act of Repeal pass'd, and undertook to go to Court, and solicit the Settlement of Presbytery on a better Foot than it had been by this Parliament, who acted without any undue Influence or Restraint as the former did.

And our Author says, *the poor Men*, the late Rebellious Teachers, were so struck with the ill State of their Affairs, that they consented (or seem'd to consent) to trust *Sharpe* with this Negotiation.

During this Session of Parliament, our Author observes, that the most celebrated Teachers were set up to shew the Necessity of a Change in their Ecclesiastical Government, of which the Presbytery of *Edinburgh* complain'd; and several other Presbyteries would have address'd against it, if Dr. *Sharpe*, pretending

pretending to be in their Interest, had not prevented them; and that the Synod of *Aberdeen* was the only Body that address'd for an Alteration.

It seems another Act pass'd this Session, which gravell'd the godly Party exceedingly: It was for the Observation of the 29th of *May*, shewing, that on that Day a Period was put to a Rebellion of twenty three Years standing; and all their late Proceedings were therein shewn in their proper Colours, to be Rebellious and Hypocritical.

The Ministers of the Kirk refus'd to observe the Day as it was appointed by the Civil Powers, maintaining, that no human Authority could appoint a Holy-Day; but in complaisance to the Government, whose Relentment they were apprehensive of at this time, they enacted in their Presbyteries, that the Day should be observed as a Thanksgiving for the King's Restoration.

When the Earls of *Glencairn* and *Rothes* arrived at Court, the Earl of *Lauderdale*, it seems, deny'd his making the Misrepresentations abovementioned, and the King appeared entirely satisfy'd with the Proceedings of the Parliament. This, our Author says, was a mad *roaring time*, full of Extravagance; those who were in the Ministry being perpetually drunk.

R E M A R K S.

It will be very difficult, if not impossible, at this distance of time, for any one Man to give the true Character of every Person of Quality mention'd in our Author, unless he should do it by guess, according to the laudable Pattern this good Bishop has set him; but as we find the Bishop in many Instances contradicting himself, as well as other Writers, 'tis presumed these Gentlemen's Characters will not suffer much in the Opinion of the Wise, though no particular

ticular Defence of them should be undertaken. To me our Author appears like the Writer of a Play, who first forms his Characters, and assigns every one the Part he is to act: This Man shall be a Hero, this a Clown, and that a Villain, and then determines to make every one speak and act agreeably to the Part he has allotted him: For though he acknowledges himself to be at three or four hundred Miles distance from the Scene of Action, and that he had only such a general Knowledge of the Affairs of *England*, during these twelve Years, as he cou'd pick up from this or that Man, who perhaps spoke his Guesses too, or as his Interest led him; yet does he give us the Characters of the *English Ministry* after the Restoration, with that Assurance, as if he had been most intimately acquainted with all their Concerns, and knew the Springs and Motives of their Actions; and it is very evident he had no manner of regard to Truth, where he speaks upon his own Knowledge, and of Facts he could not be ignorant of, by the very different Character he has often given us of the same Persons at different Times, and as he was mov'd by different Views; an Instance whereof we have in the Character of the Duke of *Lauderdale*. To observe how good and great a Man he makes him in his Dedication to his four Conferences printed at *Glasgow* 1673, and how vile, how infamous he makes him in this vile Work, would amaze any Man that has read our Bishop's solemn Appeals to God for the Truth of what he relates. The Dedication is but short, and therefore I shall give it in our Author's own Words, viz.

To his Grace the Duke of LAUDERDALE,
his Majesty's High Commissioner for
Scotland.

May it please your Grace,

“ **T**HE noble Character which you do now so
“ worthily bear, together with the most last-
“ ing and inward Characters of your Princely Mind,
“ did set me beyond doubting to whom this Ad-
“ dress was to be made: For to whom is a *Vindica-*
“ *tion of the Authority and Laws of this Kingdom* so
“ due as to your Grace, to whom his Majesty hath
“ by a Royal Delegation committed the Adminis-
“ tration of Affairs among us, and *under whose wise*
“ *and happy Conduct we have enjoyed so long a Tract*
“ *of uninterrupted Tranquility?* But it is not only
“ your illustrious Quality that entitles you to this
“ Dedication: No, Great Prince! greater in your
“ Mind, than by your Fortune, there is somewhat
“ more inward to you, than the Gifts of Fortune,
“ which as it proves her not blind in this Jun-
“ ture, *so commands all the Respect that can be paid*
“ *your Grace by such who are honoured with so much*
“ *Knowledge of you, as hath fallen to the happy Share*
“ *of your poorest Servant.*

But, my Lord, since all I can say, either of the
“ *vast Endowments of your Mind*, or of the particu-
“ *lar Engagements I lie under* to honour you, must needs
“ fall short of *my Sense* of both; and what is *just*
“ to be said, is not fit for me to express the least
“ Appearances of Flattery, being as unpleasant to
“ you, as unbecoming one of *my Station*: I must
“ quit this Theme, which is too great for me to
“ manage, and only add, that I know your Under-
“ standing

“ standing in such Debates as are here managed, to
 “ be so profound, and your Judgment so well balan-
 “ ced, that as you deservedly pass for a Master in all
 “ Learning, so if these Sheets be so happy, as to be
 “ well accounted of by you, I shall the less value and
 “ apprehend the Snarlings of all Censurers. I pre-
 “ tend not, by prefixing so great a Name to these
 “ Conferences, to be secure from Censure by your
 “ Patrociny, since these Enemies of all Order and
 “ Authority (with whom I deal) will rather be
 “ provok'd from that, to lash me with the more
 “ Severity.

“ I shall not to this add my poor Thoughts of
 “ what this Time, and the Tempers of those with
 “ whom we deal, seems to call for, since by so
 “ doing, I should become more ridiculous than
 “ *Phormio* was, when he entertain'd the redoubted
 “ *Hannibal* with a Pedantick Discourse of a Gene-
 “ ral's Conduct. It is from your Grace's deep
 “ Judgment, and great Experience, that we all ex-
 “ pect and long for a happy Settlement, wherein that
 “ Success and Blessing may attend your Endeavours,
 “ shall be prayed for more earnestly by none alive,
 “ than by

*May it please your Grace,
 Your Grace's most humble,
 most faithful, and most
 obliged Servant,*

G. BURNET.

Here in the Dedication we find our Bishop say-
 ing, *To whom should a Vindication of the Authority and
 Laws of that Kingdom (Scotland) be dedicated, but to
 his Grace, under whose happy Conduct they had enjoy'd*

so long a Tract of uninterrupted Tranquility : And yet in his History, p. 102, he says, whereas some, by a smooth Deportment, made the first beginning of Tyranny less discernable, he (the Duke of Lauderdale) by the Fury of his Behaviour, heighten'd the Severity of his Ministry, which was liker the Cruelty of an Inquisition, than the Legality of Justice; and p. 338, he speaks of the Duke of Lauderdale's brutish Behaviour: That the Duke play'd the Tyrant to that degree, that our Author was weary of the Court, though there was scarce a Person so well us'd by him as himself. P. 339, he says of the Duke and Duchess, that they liv'd at a vast Expence, and every Thing was set to Sale, and that he (the Bishop) was out of Measure weary of his Attendance at Court.

This was in the Year 1672; and yet did our Author the Year following, in 1673, dedicate his Conferences to this brutal Tyrant, as he calls him, and say all those fine Things of him the Reader has seen in the Dedication.

Had the Bishop wrote this Dedication at the Beginning of the Duke's Administration, before he knew what a Governor he was like to make, some Excuse might be made for him; but to do it after so long Experience of his Government, how mean, how mercenary has he made himself appear, if we are to give any Credit to the Character he has given of the Duke in this posthumous Work?

To this it may possibly be answered, that little Notice is to be taken of a Dedication, which is indeed generally true, because they are the Compositions of the most mercenary Scriblers of the Age, who have some sordid Interest ever in view. But shall a Protestant Priest, a Christian Bishop be ranked among the vilest of Mankind? Can we believe that he should fall down and worship one whom he

here

here makes a Devil incarnate, and be guilty of Idolatry equal to that of *India*? Can this be supposed? and yet how difficult will it be to clear him both of this, and Perjury? though I do not despair of seeing it done by some of his reverend Friends and Successors, fam'd for wrangling and nice Distinctions.

But if a Presbyterian, and a Patron, could find no better Quarter, what Character are we to expect of the Cavaliers, especially after we have read that Paragraph, p. 104, where our Author stiles the Cavaliers, in general, a *Herd* of Cowards, pretending to great Actions which they never perform'd, and whose Pretensions all the Wealth of the Kingdom could never satisfy?

Nor is the Account our Author gives us of the Transactions of these Times less to be depended upon than his Characters: At one time, he tells us, the King resign'd himself up to the Conduct of the Lord *Clarendon* at the Restoration, whose just and moderate Counsels he every where celebrates; and yet the Bishop is ever complaining of the violent and arbitrary Proceedings of the Administration at that very instant: And though we are informed that the King never attended Affairs of State, yet there is hardly any one Transaction in which he does not make him have a considerable Share, especially if it tend to the lessening him in the Opinion of the World.

He will have it, that even so early as the Year 1660, the King and the Duke of *Lauderdale* form'd a Design of enslaving both *Scotland* and *England*, as will appear from p. 108, 112, &c. which agrees very ill with a former Relation, that his Majesty gave himself up wholly to Pleasure, and resign'd all his Affairs to the Management of the Earl of *Clarendon*, who endeavour'd with all his Might to preserve the Constitution.

The Method by which Episcopacy was introduced in *Scotland*, our Bishop loudly exclaims against: He will have it, that Dr. *Sharpe* procured a Letter from the King, promising to support Presbytery only to lull the Kirk asleep till an Act was pass'd for rescinding all Acts for establishing it: That the Interest of Episcopacy was promoted by a Pack of debauched Courtiers, who were perpetually drunk, which gave that People the greater Aversion to it: For during the Rebellion, he says, his Countrymen were used to a *Face* of Gravity and Piety at least; from whence I presume he would infer, that the Times of Rebellion were infinitely to be prefer'd to these, and Presbytery much more desirable than Episcopacy; but notwithstanding the ill Practices, which he says, were used to introduce Episcopacy, the Instructions for making that Change, he tells us, were given by the Lord *Clarendon*; so that either my Lord *Clarendon's* Administration does not deserve that Applause he gives it in other Places, or there were none of those indirect Arts used, as he would insinuate; for if there were, the Earl must be, at least, as much concern'd in them as Dr. *Sharpe*; and in this Particular, which is the principal Charge against Dr. *Sharpe*, the Reputation of the Chancellor, and the Doctor, seem to be equally concerned, and must stand or fall together; and most Men, who are not *Burnets*, will probably incline to the favourable Side.

Another thing I would desire some of the Bishop's Friends to reconcile, is, the Account he gives us of the passing the Act for rescinding all those Laws that were made during the Rebellion, and for the Establishment of Presbytery in *Scotland*: For in one Place he tells us the King was exceedingly displeas'd with Lord *Middleton*, for giving the Royal Assent to that Act; and in another, that he was very well pleas'd with the passing it.

We

We are told also in one Place, that the Preachers oppos'd and preach'd against the Establishment of Presbytery, and that they refused to obey an Act of Parliament for the Observation of the 29th of *May*; and a little after that, they were so dispirited, and under such Apprehensions, that they durst not oppose the Government.

These are some of the Contradictions and Inconsistencies with which our Author abounds, and for the Truth of which he appeals to Heaven.

ABRIDGMENT.

The Bishop next proceeds to give an Account of the Earl of *Argyle's* Attainder in Parliament: He was charged, he says, with delivering up the King to the *English* at *Newcastle*, with opposing the assisting his Majesty in the Year 1648, and raising an Insurrection in the *West* in opposition to the Committee of Estates: He was also charged with the many Murders and Barbarities committed by his Officers upon the Royalists, during the War, especially on those who serv'd under *Montrose*, whom they murder'd in cold Blood: That he had assisted *Cromwell* to suppress the King's Friends in the *Highlands*, was one of *Cromwell's* Parliament, and proclaim'd him Protector, &c.

In his Defence, he urg'd, that he acted by Authority of Parliament, and that it did not appear he gave his Officers Authority to commit those Barbarities he was charg'd with: That his Country had been ruin'd by the *Macdonalds*, and it was natural for his People to return the Injury: That he did not comply with the Usurpers, till they had made a Conquest of the Kingdom, and then by the Opinions of Divines and Lawyers, Men might lawfully submit.

He was also charged with being accessary to the King's Death, of which the Bishop says, there was only presumptive Evidence; and that the Lord *Lorn*, the Earl's Son, procur'd a Letter from the King, that no Facts should be insisted on which were committed before the Indemnity pass'd in 1651.

But the great Point debated in Parliament, was, *Whether the Earl's Compliance with the Usurpation was forc'd, or wilful and malicious*; which the Bishop says remain'd doubtful, till *Monk* basely sent down some Letters wrote by *Argyle* to himself; which put the Matter beyond Dispute: Whereupon *Argyle's* Friends withdrew, and he was found guilty of Treason; the Marquis of *Montrose* only refusing to give his Vote, (whose Father and Friends *Argyle* had procur'd to be murder'd,) that it might not be said he was induc'd to vote against him out of Malice or Revenge. The Earl was beheaded some time after, and his Head plac'd where that of the Marquis of *Montrose* had been set up. At his Execution he protested his Innocence of the King's Murder, but spoke highly in Justification of the *Covenant*, calling it *the Cause and Work of God*, exhorting all People to adhere to it, and suffer any thing rather than sin against their Consciences.

Guthry, the famous Rebel Preacher, was also condemned and executed not long after: This Man confess'd and justify'd all he was charg'd with, as agreeable to the Principles and Practices of the Kirk, making it appear, says the Bishop, *how near the Spirit that reign'd in Presbytery came to Popery*: But still the Bishop blames the Earl of *Middleton*, for suffering him to be prosecuted, because that Earl, he says, had a personal Pique against him. At the Place of Execution *Guthry* again justify'd all he had done, and exhorted the People to adhere to the *Covenant*, which he magnify'd exceedingly.

But

But *Maccloud*, our Author says, who betray'd *Montrose*, was saved by this wicked Ministry, upon his making Entertainments in Prison for the Royalists, and becoming eminently and modishly vicious. On the other hand, *Waristoun* the Bishop's Uncle, who had fled from Justice, was attainted; but *Swintoun*, who had been attainted by the Parliament of *Sterling*, so movingly confess'd his Errors, the Bishop says, that he was recommended to his Majesty's Mercy; and that *Middleton* consented to this out of Hatred to *Lauderdale*, who had begg'd his Estate. The Parliament having finish'd the Business before them, rose, our Author says, without so much as mentioning an Act of Indemnity; the Secret whereof was, that Episcopacy being about to be set up, those who were most likely to oppose it, remaining obnoxious upon other Accounts, might be kept in Awe.

R E M A R K S.

The Marquis of *Argyle*, our Author observes, made his Defence with so good a Grace, and so skilfully, that his Character was as much rais'd as his Family suffer'd by the Prosecution; and insinuates, that the Reason the Lord *Middleton* prosecuted him was, because he hop'd to obtain a Grant of his Estate.

But how was *Argyle*'s Character rais'd by this Trial, when our Author himself acknowledges that many Instances were given of his acting publickly in the Rebellion, of his advising the delivering up of King *Charles I.* to the *English* Rebels at *Newcastle*, of his opposing the raising an Army to rescue the King in 1648, and of his commanding the *Western* Fanaticks, the most dangerous and inveterate of all the *Scottish* Rebels? His Barbarity to the King's Friends,

Friends, murdering them in cold Blood, and his Concurrence with *Cromwell* and the Usurpation in all their Measures, was also prov'd, and even his proclaiming *Cromwell* Protector, and sitting in his mock Parliament. The Defence the Marquis made might be as good as the Case would bear, and he might shew his Skill in fencing, as *Echard* has it; but Treason and Rebellion, and premeditated Murders, Baseness and Ingratitude to the Prince whose Minister he was, and from whom he had accepted Honours and Preferments, will hardly raise his Character with any but *Scots* Presbyterians, or the Disciples of that Enemy of Monarchy and Episcopacy, Dr. *Gilbert Burnet*.

Mr. *Echard*, in his last Edition of the *English History*, p. 629. tells us, that thirty thousand Pounds Sterling were paid to *Argyle*, and fifteen thousand more to his Friends, as a Reward for their Service in delivering up the King to the *English* Rebels at *Newcastle*. The same Author says, p. 793, that it was prov'd at his Trial, that he dissuaded the Presbyterians, both in *Scotland* and at *London*, from praying for the King, for that God had rejected him; and that he said, *If all were to do that he had done, he would do it over again*. And we find in the *Earl of Clarendon, Hist. Vol. III. p. 447. 8vo Ed.* that all Men complained of the Marquis of *Argyle*, who prosecuted the King's Friends with the utmost Malice. And surely there was as little Reason to complain of any Hardships in this Trial, as of the bringing so notorious a Rebel to Justice at all: He was try'd before the Parliament of that Kingdom, who were well appriz'd of his Actions and Designs, and among whom he did not want Friends who could, and actually did, say all that could be urg'd in his Defence; and he had the best Council in *Scotland* assign'd him; the Court were also so indulgent as

to allow him the Benefit of those Acts of Indemnity that pass'd in the Years 1641, and 1651, (tho' both were extorted from the Crown) and confin'd themselves only to such Facts as the Marquis had been guilty of after the Year 51; nay, it appears that almost the sole Question was, whether his Compliance with the Usurpation after the Year 51 was forc'd, or voluntary and malicious? Our Author himself acknowledges that it was so evidently prov'd to be voluntary and malicious, by Letters of his own Writing; that when they were produced his Friends had not one Word to say in his Behalf, but withdrew; and he was thereupon condemn'd to be guilty of High Treason: And the Government were still so much more merciful to *Argyle* than he and his Party had been to *Montrose*, that they allow'd him a considerable Time between his Sentence and his Execution, and let him have the Honour of being beheaded, instead of hanging him on a Gallows thirty Foot high, or loading him with such Reproaches as those meek Saints had loaded the gallant Marquis of *Montrose* withal not long before: Notwithstanding, *Argyle* continued to the last to speak highly in Justification of the Covenant, calling it the Cause and Work of God, and prophesying of the sad Times that were to follow; and exhorted all Men to adhere to the Covenant, and not sin against their Consciences.

This is the Man whom our Author thinks had great Injustice done him, and whose Innocence could never have been called in question (as he suggests) if the Malice or Covetousness of his private Enemies had not drawn this Prosecution upon him: Which is an Observation we might have expected from a *Cameronian*, or a Field-Conventicler; but the greatest of our Author's Enemies cou'd never have suggested any thing more unbecoming a Bishop of the

the Church of *England*; nor cou'd any Man have believ'd such Animadversions shou'd have proceeded from Dr. *Burnet*, if he had not left them under his Hand.

Guthry, a true Son, or rather Father of the Church Militant, our Author observes, *suffer'd* next. This Prosecution he also imputes to the Earl of *Middleton*'s personal Animosity; and his appearing therefore against him, the Bishop thinks, did not *look well*; and I don't doubt if five hundred more of the Brethren had *suffer'd*, that is, been convicted and executed for the most notorious Treason and Rebellion, accompany'd with all the Malice and Insolence that the vilest of the People could be guilty of, he would have imputed all to the Malice or Covetousness of some of the Cavaliers in the Administration; for this Man, he tells us himself, was accus'd, and even confess'd and gloried in the framing a Remonstrance against the King, and that he had charg'd the Presbyterians with Apostacy for *but* treating with his Majesty; and often in his Preachments abus'd and affronted the King to his Face. The Defence that *Guthry* made, our Author also acknowledges, was very little to the Purpose, for it consisted chiefly in shewing that he acted upon Presbyterian Principles; and this, the Bishop says, he made out beyond all Dispute, and *that it was apparent the Brethren had among them some of the worst Maxims of the Church of Rome, that in particular of making the Pulpit a privileged Place for venturing High Treason*, which was sufficiently shewn at this Trial: And so, says our Author, this Preacher was singled out to be made an Example of, and condemn'd to die; which he seems much to lament, for that the Earl of *Tweeddale*, a noted Presbyterian, said that Banishment had hitherto been the severest Censure that had been laid on the Preachers for *their*

Opinions;

Opinions; which is the soft Term our Author gives the preaching up Rebellion for above twenty Years together, and inciting and commanding the deluded People, on Pain of Damnation, to commit the most insolent, cruel and barbarous Actions that were ever heard of, as well against the Person of their Sovereign, as their Fellow-Subjects; and, strange to tell! notwithstanding all the Representations of *Tweedale*, *Guthry* was condemn'd to die, *not one Man in the Parliament besides moving to save him*. Our Author saw him suffer, it seems, and says he spoke an Hour together upon the Ladder, with the Composedness of one who was delivering a Sermon, justifying all he had done, and exhorting all Men to adhere to the Covenant, which he magnify'd highly. And now whether that Administration deserv'd to be libell'd by our righteous Bishop, for executing this notorious Malefactor, let the World judge; tho' I have omitted to mention a hundred other Instances that might be produc'd of the Cruelty, Malice and Insolence of this fanatick Teacher.

One *Gouan* who had deserted to *Cromwell*, was also executed at the same time; which is made another Instance of the Tyranny of the Administration, for that the Execution was so long after the Offence: And indeed, I am apt to suspect our Author here conceals some later Offence, for 'tis certain there were many Persons more obnoxious than such Deserters.

But what can more demonstrate the Mildness and Lenity of this Government, or the christian forgiving Temper of the King, as well as of the Cavaliers in general, (those debauch'd roaring Fellows, as the Bishop calls them,) than that after a Rebellion of twenty three Years, wherein the Royalists had suffer'd all manner of Hardships and Indignities, only three or four of the Rebels were proceeded against capitally?

capitally? If such an Instance can be produc'd in History, may these same Cavaliers, those covetous, revengeful, drunken Dogs, as they are here represented, be thought worthy of all the Reproaches cast upon them by this Protestant Bishop: But if all the Goodness, Wisdom and Moderation imaginable were shewn by the Administration on this great Turn of Affairs, (which our Author himself sometimes acknowledges, and ascribes to the Earl of *Clarendon*;) what Apology can his Friends make for that Heap of Calumny and Detraction, for those malicious Insinuations and Reflections, both on the King and his Ministers, that we find in this Part of his hopeful Work?

But there being no more Executions to complain of, our Author proceeds to arraign the Administration for extending Mercy to one who did not deserve it: Nothing, he says, more eminently discover'd the *gross Iniquity of the Court*, than the Favour shewn to *Maccloud*; he was sav'd, he tells us, only for leading an impious and vicious Course of Life, while he was a Prisoner. But this is one of those Assertions which will surely be so far from gaining any Credit with wise Men, that it will rather raise a Detestation of the Author in every one that reads him, and shew how far Malice and Prejudice could carry him.

But for once our Author is pleas'd to allow the *Scotish* Parliament was in the right; and that was in recommending *Swintoun* the Quaker to the King's Mercy. This Man, he thinks, very well deserv'd to be an Object of Compassion; but it was thro' *Middleton*, it seems, that he was pardon'd, who only consented to it, our Author says, in Hatred to the Earl of *Landerdale*, who had a Grant of his Estate. So that whether the Rebels were pardon'd or executed, it was always upon sinister Views:

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We are made to believe, neither Wisdom, Justice or Mercy, had any Share in the Matter; and, in short, that the Cavaliers were all damn'd Fools, as well as Knaves, in the Opinion of our Author, as well as of the Presbyterians, both antient and modern. Those that believe the best of this holy Bishop, and that he did not himself forge all the Tales we find in his History, cannot however but be inclined to think, that he often receiv'd his Intelligence from those that were exceedingly bias'd and prejudiced against the Royalists; and consequently, that the Facts he relates are very little to be rely'd on.

A B R I D G M E N T.

The Earl of *Middleton*, our Author says, returned to Court full of Merit, and as full of Pride; and having a mind to the Post of Treasurer, advis'd the King to turn out the Earl of *Crawford*, who was a Presbyterian, on pretence it gave too much Encouragement to that Sect, now his Majesty was about to establish Episcopacy; but the Earl of *Crawford*, notwithstanding, maintained his Ground.

The Establishment of Episcopacy in *Scotland* came next under Debate; all who wish'd for it, agreed, that it ought to be set about immediately in the first Heat of Joy for the Restoration; and before the Act of Indemnity pass'd, the Earl of *Middleton* and *Sharpe* both assur'd the King, that it was desir'd by the greater and honester Part of the Nation. On the other hand, the Earl of *Lauderdale* and his Friends assur'd his Majesty, that the National Prejudice against it was still very strong, and he would lose the Affections of his People by setting it up. The King went very coldly therefore into the Design, our Author says, remembering the Aversion he himself

self had observ'd in that People to Episcopacy; but the Earl of *Middleton* and *Sharpe* inform'd him, that the Insolences of the Presbyterians when they were in Power, had much alter'd that People since his Majesty was amongst them. The King naturally hated Presbytery, he says; and the Parliament of *England* espousing the Interest of the Church at this time, and complaining of the evacuating the Garrisons in that Kingdom, his Majesty gave way (but with a visible Reluctance) to the altering of the Government of the Church of *Scotland*, and concurr'd with the Earl of *Clarendon* and the Duke of *Ormond*, who were zealous for it.

The Matter being propos'd to such of the *Scottish* Council as were about Town, the Earl of *Crawford* declared against it. Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Lauderdale*, and Sir *Robert Murray*, were for deferring it only till the King should be inform'd of the Disposition of the Nation; all the rest were earnest for a Change; whereupon a Letter was writ to the Privy Council of *Scotland*, demanding their Opinion of the Change.

The Earl of *Glencairn*, our Author says, upon Receipt of the Letter, summon'd such of the Council as he knew were zealous for Episcopacy, and so the thing met with no Opposition but from the Earl of *Kincairdin*, who propos'd the entring into some Measures for discovering the Inclinations of the People, before they returned an Answer; but the rest looking upon it to be unnecessary, an Answer was drawn up, assuring his Majesty, that the Alteration would give a general Satisfaction to that Nation.

Upon this Answer, it was considered who shou'd be made Bishops in that Kingdom; *Sheldon*, and the *English* Bishops, had an Aversion to all that had been engaged in the Covenant, and were for preferring the
Episcopal

Episcopal Clergy, who had been driven out of *Scotland* in the beginning of the Rebellion. There was, it seems, but one of the old *Scottish* Bishops left alive, and that was Dr. *Sydserfe*, Bishop of *Galloway*, who expected to have been advanced to the Primacy of *Scotland*, but he had disoblged the *English* Bishops by ordaining all those of the *English* Clergy who came to him after the Restoration, without requiring either Oaths or Subscriptions of them; and this our Author charitably supposes he did, only for the Lucre of the Fees that accrued by the Letters of Orders, for he says *Sydserfe* was very poor; but *Sharpe*, he says, suggested to the Earl of *Clarendon*, that the old Episcopal Men, by their long Absence out of *Scotland*, knew nothing of the present Generation, and would be apt to inflame things by retaliating the ill Usage they had met with; and therefore it would be better to prefer a Set of moderate Men, in which our Author says, *Clarendon* concurr'd, and persuaded the *English* Bishops to leave the Management of that Affair entirely to *Sharpe*, who now made no Scruple to declare he was to be Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, tho' he said he accepted it only to prevent a hot Man being put into that See, and to cover some good Men from a Storm. *Sydserfe* was translated to *Orkney*, our Author tells us, and proceeds to give us the Character of several of the new made Bishops, which were generally bad, but upon the Piety, Learning, and Self-denial of his Friend and Favourite *Leighton*, (Son of Dr. *Leighton* the Incendiary, who lost his Ears for aspersing the Government in the Reign of King *Charles*;) he much enlarges, and makes him exceed even any of the Primitive Bishops; but this Man he gives us to understand, the Court had never prefer'd, if they had not thought him inclined to Popery.

When the Time came for consecrating the *Scottish* Bishops, it seems *Sharpe* and *Leighton* had not receiv'd Episcopal Ordination; the *English* Bishops therefore insisted, that they should first be ordained Deacons and Priests before they were consecrated Bishops, with which *Sharpe* comply'd, our Author says, with much Reluctance; *Leighton*, he says, did not stand much upon it, he did not think Orders given without Bishops were void, or that the Forms of Ecclesiastical Government were unalterable, but that every Church might make such Rules of Ordination as they pleas'd, and that they might re-ordain all that came to them from any other Church, which imported no more than their receiving them into Orders according to their Rules, but did not infer the annulling the Orders he had formerly received.

Here our Author acquaints us with a Project of his Friend *Leighton's*, for uniting the Presbyterians to the Church, which he seems to condemn the other Bishops for not coming into; whereupon *Leighton*, he says, lost all Heart, and told our Author, that there appeared such Characters of an angry Providence, that he fancied God was against them, and that they were not like to be the Men that should build up his Church: The struggling for Episcopacy, to him, seem'd like the fighting against God. He adds, that the Man who had the greatest Hand in establishing Episcopacy, proceeded with so much Dissimulation, and the rest of the Order were so mean and selfish, and the Earl of *Middleton*, with the other secular Men that conducted it, were so openly impious and vicious, that it cast a Reproach on every thing relating to Religion, to see it manag'd by such Instruments.

Upon the Consecration of the *Scottish* Bishops, the Presbyteries declared openly against Episcopacy; whereupon

whereupon a Proclamation issued, forbidding the Clergy to meet together in any Presbytery or other Judicatory, till the Bishops should settle a Method for proceeding in them; but they met notwithstanding once again, and enter'd into their Books a Protest against the Proclamation, as an Invasion on the Liberties of the Kirk. Here our Author blames *Sharpe* for procuring the Proclamation, and precipitating Matters by his Ambition, to have the Government of the Church put wholly into his Hands: As to the Earl of *Middleton* and his Party, they were always drunk, he says, and not capable of advising on the Occasion, and *Lauderdale* was pleas'd to see them commit Errors, that his Schemes might take place. The four *Scottish* Bishops set out from *London* for *Scotland*, all in one Coach, but our Author says, his Friend *Leighton* left them at *Morpeth*, not liking their Company, and to avoid that pompous Reception that was designed them at *Edinburgh*; for it seems when they drew near the Town, the Lord Chancellor, with all the Nobility and Privy-Counsellors then at *Edinburgh*, went out with the Magistracy of the City and conducted them in. Our Author was a looker on, he says, and though he was thoroughly Episcopal, yet he thought there was somewhat in the Pomp of that Entry that did not look like the Humility that became their Function. Soon after their Arrival, six Bishops more were Consecrated, but not ordained Priests or Deacons, and the See of *Edinburgh* was bestowed upon one *Wishart*, who was Chaplain to the late Marquis of *Montrose*, and had been used with much Cruelty in *Edinburgh* Goal; so that our Author thinks it was but Justice to advance him in a Place where he had suffered so much.

REMARKS.

Why his Majesty should have that *Reluctance* to change the Government of the Church of *Scotland* our Author speaks of, is not easy to conceive, when we are told in the same Page, that *he naturally hated Presbytery*; and not only *Earl Middleton* and *Dr. Sharpe* assured his Majesty that it was desir'd by the greater and honeſter Part of the Nation, but the Privy Council of *Scotland* gave it as their unanimous Opinion (except one Voice) that it would give a general Satisfaction to that People: And the *English* Parliament alſo gave the greateſt Encouragement imaginable at this time to the eſta bliſhing *Episcopacy*; ſo that the King had very little to fear in giving Way to it, as our Author expreſſes himſelf, and did but gratify his own Inclinations, if it be true that he *hated Presbytery*; though how this is conſiſtent with the Indifference he mentions afterwards, is ſomething difficult to reconcile; but the Grounds of his Majesty's Aversion to this Change we are told, proceeded from that View *Earl Lauderdale* had given his Majesty of rendring him abſolute, which the Biſhop ſeems to think the *Presbyterians* were much more likely to promote, than the Patrons of *Episcopacy*, or there is very little in his Argument; but this is a Conceſſion I did not expect from *Biſhop Burnet*.

To proceed: How is this Account conſiſtent with the Character our Author gives us of King *Charles II.* in other Places, viz. that he was a Prince that abandon'd himſelf to his Pleaſures, and left the Management of Affairs of State entirely to others? for here we find him engaged in deep Deſigns with *Earl Lauderdale*, he is repreſented as conſulting with *Earl Middleton* and *Dr. Sharpe*, concerning the Inclinations

clinations of the *Scottish* Nation, advising with the *Scottish* Council in *London*, and sending down to *Scotland* for the Opinions of the Board there; and comes to a Resolution at last, with all the Deliberation that became a wise Prince in so important an Affair: From whence the World will certainly conclude, that the King was not *wholly* given up to that loose debauch'd Course of Life our Author every where suggests he was; for, from these and a Multitude of other Instances that he himself has produc'd, it is evident the King assign'd a considerable Part of his Time to Business and Affairs of State, and in studying and promoting the Happiness of his People; tho' he might possibly dedicate some Hours to softer Amusements, as other great Princes have done, and yet been canoniz'd by the Godly for Saints: But Vice becomes Virtue when practis'd by a Brother. And the Bishop tells us, it was the Opinion of his Darling *Cromwell*, that such as he were above the Rules of Morality; an unrestrain'd Liberty of doing what they pleas'd, was a peculiar Portion by Heaven allotted to the Saints.

To proceed; Episcopacy being resolv'd on, tho' the *English* Bishops were for promoting Episcopal Men, *Sharpe* by his Influence, we are told, introduc'd a Set of Presbyterian Bishops; and the Loyalists, who had suffer'd so much during the Usurpation, and been banish'd their Country, were entirely excluded from these Preferments, for fear they should inflame Matters by endeavouring to retaliate the ill Usage they had met with. This was a Proceeding that seems hardly justifiable, that the Sufferings the King's Friends had undergone should be made an Argument for neglecting them: Nor could any thing excuse it; no, not the Reasons *Dr. Sharpe* is made to give, that a Set of moderate Men would be more likely to win over the stub-

born Presbyterians; nor was the Success answerable, if that was the Design: But it being our Author's constant and avow'd Opinion, that the Dissenters were to be brought over by Acts of Kindness and Indulgence, one would have thought this Proceeding should have reconcil'd him to Dr. *Sharpe*, and that Administration: But he is still out of Humour with them, and informs us, that of all the new *Scotish* Bishops that were promoted, there was but one that was fit for that Province, which was *Leighton*; who had never been prefer'd neither, he thinks, but that the Court look'd upon him to be inclin'd to Popery. - Now 'tis a little strange, that it should be made an Argument for rejecting the Episcopal Men because they were at such a Distance from the Presbyterians, and at the same time they shou'd look out for reputed Papists to make Bishops of. This is another of those Inconsistencies I must beg the Doctor's Friends to reconcile.

Amongst the rest of Dr. *Leighton's* Virtues, it is observable these are reckon'd for some; viz, That he never laugh'd, and but seldom smil'd, and was never guilty of one idle Word: That he had been bred up with the greatest Aversion imaginable to the whole Frame of the Church of *England*: That he preach'd up a more exact Rule of Life than seem'd consistent with human Nature: That he had generally the Reputation of a Saint, and that he had something above human Nature in him: That it seem'd very indifferent to him whether Episcopacy or Presbytery prevail'd: Nay, he was for comprehending the Presbyterians upon their own Terms; that is, he was for going over to them, if they would not come over to the Church; and actually comply'd with them, while he remain'd a Bishop in Name; and when the other Bishops endeavour'd to support Episcopacy, he term'd it a fight-

ing against God. And this good Man, our Author tells us, lest he should be defil'd with the Conversation of his unhallowed Brethren the Bishops, left them before they came to *Edinburgh*, under Pretence of avoiding partaking of the Honours that were design'd them; and for the same Reason afterwards declin'd being introduc'd into the Parliament of *Scotland*. This is the Man our Author once attempted to imitate, and who is set up as a Pattern for the World to follow: But whatever Character he might really deserve, he seems, by this History, to be a perfect *Pharisee*; and that he stood aloof from the rest of Mankind, as being too holy, too pure, to admit their prophane Approach. The great Quarrel he seems to have against *Sharpe* and the other Bishops, is, that they would not be govern'd by him in the Matter of Comprehension, &c. so that under all that Appearance of pretended Humility and Self-denial, the Ambition of the Man is easily discover'd. And as our Author tells us this was the Person with whom he had the most intimate Friendship for twenty three Years, I am not now at all at a Loss to discover from whence he receiv'd that vile Character of Dr. *Sharpe*, and the other Bishops he has given us in this posthumous History: it is apparent he had it from their greatest Enemy, one whose principal Quarrel with them was, that they would not consent to establish Presbytery, instead of Episcopacy, and to retain only the Name of Bishops: And this seems extremely suitable to the Man's Education, of whom our Author says, as has been observ'd already, *That he was bred up with the greatest Aversion imaginable to the whole Frame of the Church of England*. Nor does he, while a Bishop, seem to think any thing in the Church of *England* Orthodox, any more than our Author, unless it were her Honours and Re-

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venues ; and these, when he pretended to despise them most ; it was probably in hopes to raise his Character yet higher : *The lower we fall, the higher we are like to rise*, is a Maxim well known at Geneva, as well as Rome.

And would our Author's Constitution have born it, it is very probable, as Dr. Cockburn observes, he had copied after Dr. Leighton's mortified Regimen ; but he knew the Value of Flesh and Blood too well to quit it for the whole World : He would not have been debarr'd from Venison or a soft Bed-fellow seven Years, even to have obtain'd an Archbishoprick. If we are rightly inform'd of the Foibles of our Author, *Video Meliora, &c.* was never more justly apply'd to any Man than to this Reverend Prelate.

If we give our selves leave to reflect on the Principles and Practices of this Writer, those Stories of the Hypocrisy of Dr. Sharpe, and the Drunkenness of the Earl of Middleton, and the Cavaliers in the Administration, will not be much rely'd on ; especially by those who are acquainted with the common Cant of the Presbyterians, who never fail to asperse all who differ from them, and call all innocent Mirth Drunkenness : These Men make it a Sin to smile, especially on a Holiday, as King Charles sufficiently experienc'd, when he was in Scotland ; being often publickly reprov'd from the Pulpit, by the Saints, for not having the Muscles of his Face more under Command : And it is here made a Part of St. Leighton's Character, that he very seldom smil'd, and was not seen to laugh in twenty three Years. Nor is it to be wondred that the Dissenters are such Enemies to laughing, because the Laugh is ever against them ; their formal, absurd, ridiculous Behaviour, their pretending to have neither Appetites or Passions, when 'tis evident no Men are more under

under the Dominion of both, must ever provoke the Laughter of the World about them.

A B R I D G M E N T.

The Parliament meeting in *April*, 1662, upon the Motion of the Earl of *Middleton*, a Committee of every State was sent to the Bishops, to invite them to take their Seats; and they were introduc'd with some Formality into the House, but our Friend *Leighton*, who still seems to be asham'd that any Honours should be paid him as a Christian Bishop. And we are told that he never came to Parliament, but when something was before them which related to Religion.

The first Act which pass'd this Session, was an Act for restoring Episcopacy; which our Author observes, advanc'd Episcopacy to a greater Height than had ever been known in *Scotland*; for the Presbyters formerly had such a Share in the Administration, that the Bishops were no more than Presidents, with a negative Voice upon them; but now the Whole was lodg'd simply in the Bishop, advising only with such of the Presbyters as he saw fit: Which was not only excepted to by the Presbyterians, but by the Episcopal Men themselves, who thought the Body of the Clergy ought to be a Check upon the Bishops. Many, our Author says, refus'd to subscribe to this Sort of Submission, and the more prudent Bishops did not impose it on their Clergy. And our Author acknowledges, that none of the Bishops, even *Sharpe* himself, who had the penning it, ever carry'd their Authority so high as the Act empower'd them to do.

Several of the Presbyterian Preachers being summon'd before the Parliament, for inveighing against Episcopacy, our Author says their Words appear'd

to

to be so general that they cou'd make nothing of it, and thereupon the Oath of Supremacy was tender'd them; but they insisted much upon adding their own Explanations of it; which they were not indulg'd in, tho' our Friend *Leightoun* spoke in their Behalf, *Sharpe* holding that it was below the Dignity of Government to make Acts to satisfy the Scruples of peevish Men; and it ill became those who had impos'd their Covenant upon all People, without any Explanation, now to expect such extraordinary Favours. But *Leightoun* replied, that for that very Reason it ought to be done, that People might see a Difference between the present mild Proceedings, and Presbyterian Severity; otherwise it might be said the World went mad by turns.

The Ministers refusing the Oaths, were many of them condemn'd to perpetual Banishment, our Author says, as Men that denied Allegiance to the King. And another Oath was impos'd upon all Magistrates; namely, to abjure the solemn League and Covenant. Whereupon all the Presbyterians lost their Places; and their Preachers exclaim'd against it, as an Apostacy from God, and a throwing off their Baptismal Covenant.

The next thing propos'd in Parliament, was the preparing an Act of Indemnity: The Earl of *Middleton*, our Author says, had obtain'd the King's Consent to impose Fines upon the chief Delinquents, or inflict other Punishments upon them, not extending to Life; which was design'd to enrich the Earl and his Party, since it was presum'd the rich and great Offenders wou'd rather make the Earl a Present, than stand fin'd upon Record for their Delinquency.

But this severe Instruction for imposing Fines upon some of the most notorious Rebels, which our Author here immoderately exclaims against, he acknowledges

acknowledges, was so restrain'd, that none were to be punish'd for any Offences committed before 1650, nor be fin'd in above a Year's Rent of their Estates. But it seems there was a Clause in the Act of Indemnity, for putting some of the principal Offenders under an Incapacity of holding any publick Post; And the Earl of *Middleton*, it seems, so manag'd the matter as to have the Earl of *Lauderdale*, and *Crawford*, and Sir *Robert Murray*, included in this number: With which the King was highly displeas'd, and said he expected no better from the Duke of *Richmond*'s wild and extravagant Conduct, who went down to *Scotland* with the Earl of *Middleton*, where they were *perpetually drunk*: And by these Practices, our Author says, the Earl of *Middleton*'s whole Conduct fell under such a general Oidium, that as the King was thereby compell'd to put an End to his Ministry, so he could not have serv'd in *Scotland* much longer with any Reputation.

An Act also pass'd this Parliament, for restoring Patrons to their Right of Patronage; and obliged all who had been admitted to Churches without due Presentation, to procure Presentations from the Patrons, and get themselves instituted into their Livings before *Michaelmas*, or their Churches should be void. This took in all the young and hot Men, our Author observes, who most of them resolv'd not to obey the Act; and the main Body of the Presbyterians determin'd not to pay Obedience to any of the Acts that had pass'd this Sessions.

In the *North of Scotland*, our Author says, most of the Clergy comply'd with the Government, and submitted to their Bishops; but in the *West* hardly any wou'd conform: Whereupon a Council was held at *Edinburgh*, to consider what was to be done; but Duke *Hamilton* told our Reverend Author they
were

were all so drunk that Day, that they were incapable of considering any thing, and wou'd hear of nothing but executing the Law with the utmost Rigour; and accordingly a Proclamation was issued, requiring all who had not obey'd the late Act to resign their Livings, and preach no more: Whereby about an hundred Preachers were silent'd. This even *Sharpe* protested he knew nothing of, till he saw the Proclamation in Print; and he look'd upon it as a rash Proceeding, we are told.

All Endeavours were us'd to fill the vacant Livings, and our Author, among others, was offer'd one, tho' but nineteen Years of Age; the Government imagining he might do great Service: But he had drank in the Principles of *Moderation* so early, he says, that tho' he was *entirely Episcopal*, he cou'd not engage with a Body of Men that acted as *Inquisitors*, and yet had no Regard to Religion in any of their Proceedings. He adds, that there was a sort of a Hue and Cry made all over the Kingdom for Persons to come in and accept Benefices in the *West*; and the Livings being generally good, this drew abundance of worthless People thither, who had little Learning, less Piety, and no Discretion.

The former Incumbents, he says, were generally Protestors; a grave solemn Sort of People, whose Spirits were eager, and Tempers four, and yet had an Appearance which created them Respect: They were ready at extempore Prayer, and extempore Sermons, and by visiting their Parishioners, and expounding a Chapter to them after Dinner, and examining them concerning their Experiences, they had brought their People to such a Degree of Knowledge, that our Author has heard Cottagers and Servants praying extempore so readily and copiously, that he was astonish'd at it; tho' with a large Mixture of odd Stuff, he confesses: He adds,

that their Preachers used to cherish such Notions in their People, as were the Effects of Melancholy or Vapours, or disordered Blood, and would impute their Whimsies to the Operations of the Spirit of God upon them, by which Indulgence, and their familiar Conversation with their People, they came to be exceedingly lov'd and reverenc'd by them. He proceeds to give us an account of the Penances they inflicted on the People for Sabbath-breaking, Swearing, Drunkenness, and Fornication.

But after all, he tells us, these Preachers were little Fellows, of very mean Capacities, and a scanty measure of Learning, apt to fly out into great excess of Passion and Indiscretion, superstitious, haughtily, affected, censorious and credulous, of servile Tempers, given to flatter and fawn on their Admirers: That their Sermons were Invectives against the Government, and tended to calumniate and vilify the Prince and his Ministers, frequently denouncing the Judgments of God against their Governors, which he observes, was not the least Occasion of their Popularity: But he says, their maintaining that Popish Doctrine of the Independance of the Church and Clergy on the Civil Power, and their Attempts to stir up the People to Rebellion, begot an ill Opinion of them in the wiser Sort, and made them very little pitied by any but their Devotees, into whom they had for some Months before they were silenc'd, both in publick and private infused, that the Design of changing the Government of the Church was *to destroy the Power of Godliness, and that Vice might be committed with Impunity*, that Prelacy was Tyranny, and promoted only by covetous, ambitious Men, fond of Power, who indulged themselves in Vice, Luxury and Idleness, and encouraged those Vices in others, in order to engage them in their Interest.

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The People being thus prepossess'd, our Author says, and observing *Middleton* and his Followers, as they pass'd through the Country, running into all Excesses, and railing at the very Appearances of Virtue and Sobriety, were confirm'd in what their Preachers had before given out: That *Sharpe*, and the rest of the Bishops, who had taken the Covenant, and forced it upon others, having betray'd their Party, and preaching now against it, and declaring they had taken it against their Consciences, so fix'd the People in their Prejudices, that it was hardly possible to conquer them: And he adds, that the Places of the ejected Ministers were fill'd with the poorest Preachers, many of them notoriously vitious, and ignorant to a Reproach, compos'd of the Dregs, and refuse of the Northern Parts, who were a Disgrace to their Orders. Thus, says our Author, was Episcopacy fatally restor'd in *Scotlapid*; nor did the Bishops themselves seem to have any Sense or Concern about the Matter.

REMARKS.

Our Author, it is observable, is very angry with Dr. *Sharpe*, who (he was told) fram'd the Act for the Settlement of Episcopacy, because he assigned the whole Government and Jurisdiction of the Church to the Bishops: For he says, the Episcopal Men, (amongst whom he seems to reckon himself one) as well as the Presbyterians, thought *that the Body of the Clergy ought to be a Check upon the Bishops*; and that without the Consent of the Majority, they ought not to act; nor did any of the Bishops, he says, even *Sharpe* himself, ever carry their Authority so high as the Act warranted them: But did not the moderate Dr. *Burnet*, when he was Bishop of *Salisbury*, seem as far from complimenting the inferior

inferior Clergy with any Share of the Episcopal Authority, as any of the Bishops he complains of? Notwithstanding this Clamour against Dr. *Sharpe*, the inferior Clergy of the Church of *England* will not be persuaded, but that they had as much Reason to complain of the Hardships put upon them by the meek Bishop *Burnet*, and his Brethren in *England*, as the inferior Clergy of *Scotland* had to complain of his Grace upon passing this Act.

The imposing the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy are the next Subject of Complaint. Our Author seems to think this a much greater Grievance, at least he exclaims more against it, than the imposing the Covenant itself; and what he reckons a further Grievance, was, that the Saints were not allowed to add their Explanation of the Oath, tho' this they never admitted themselves when they imposed their Covenant, neither do we find any Government that ever did allow of such a Liberty: and even Bishop *Burnet* would have thought that Man impertinent, who should have insisted on an Explanation of the Abjuration Oath impos'd by good King *William*: He would not have pitied any Man who had refused it, if he had lost all his Preferments, and been disabled to get his Bread. The imposing those very Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy here complained of, with another as long as both of them, and not much more intelligible, was no Grievance when moderate Men required them; but the abjuring the solemn League and Covenant which the Presbyterians were turned out of their Places for refusing, is represented as an Act of Tyranny not to be parallel'd; this was called an open Apostacy from God, and a throwing off their Baptismal Covenant: So strong is the Force of Prejudice, that an unlawful Oath enter'd into, obliging themselves to be Rogues and Rebels, should be deem-

ed equally sacred with their Baptifmal Vow, and no lefs Criminal to break one than the other.

The framing the Act of Indemnity gave our Author a further Difguft, there being a Power lodg'd in the Government of fining the principal Rebels to the Value of a Year's Rent of their Eftates, and by thefe Fines it was propofed, he fays, to make the Cavaliers fome Satisfaction for their Sufferings, a Crime never to be forgiven by our Author; and yet he takes all Opportunities of upbraiding King *Charles* in the moft opprobrious Language, with neglecting his Friends; and whether the King took care of them, or neglected them, or however he proceeded, he is fure to incur our Author's Censure.

The next heavy Complaint was the excepting twelve Men out of the Act of Indemnity, againft whom the King fhould have a liberty of proceeding or waving it as he faw fit: This is afcribed entirely to Earl *Middleton*, and represented by our Author as the moft extravagant Act that ever was attempted, efpecially, fince it was done by way of balloting, which he compares to the Ostracifm at *Athens*.

This Tranfaction we are told the King cenfur'd feverely, but faid, he could expect no better from the Duke of *Richmond's* going to *Scotland*, and being perpetually drunk with the high Commiffioner, by whose wild Extravagancies Earl *Middleton's* whole Conduct, he tells us, fell under fuch a univerfal Odium, that if the King had not put an End to his Miniftry, he could not have ferved longer with any Reputation; and yet our Author informs us, that the Earl of *Clarendon*, (that great and good Minifter) ftudied to preferve him; for the Change made in the Church of *Scotland* had been managed by *Middleton* with Zeal and Succels; the Presbyterians were difpirited by the Steadinefs of his Conduct, he begg'd therefore the King to forgive one fingle Fault after fo much Merit.

But

But would the Earl of *Clarendon*, that wise and just Minister, endeavour to support one in so great a Post as High Commissioner; who was always drunk, and acted in his whole Administration as a Madman, according to our Author? One who was guilty of repeated Acts of Injustice and Oppression, and of encouraging all manner of Vice, as the Bishop frequently represents him? Either he was not that vile notorious Debauchee our Author would have us believe, or the Earl of *Clarendon*, who was prime Minister, and whom our Author assures us govern'd the State at this time with great Wisdom and Moderation, must come in for a great Share of the Guilt. Another thing pretty remarkable is, that upon this Occasion he represents his Majesty taking the Reins of Government into his Hands, and under much Concern for the wicked Conduct of his Ministers; which is not very consistent with his Majesty's being that vicious indolent Prince he elsewhere makes him. But I am weary with observing the numerous Absurdities and Contradictions in this Part of the Work, as the Reader must be by this time; and proceed to enquire into another flagrant Piece of Injustice cry'd out on by our Author, viz. the Condemnation of the Lord *Lorn*; and here he involves the whole Parliament in the Guilt of the Prosecution, for he tells us it was in Compliance with the Desire of so zealous a Parliament, that the Lord *Lorn* was sent down to be try'd; and so good and merciful is his Majesty acknowledged to be upon this Occasion, that we are told he sent positive Orders to Earl *Middleton* not to execute any Sentence that might pass upon him. The Lord *Lorn*, it seems, had reflected on the Parliament and the Administration, in a Letter that was intercepted; which Offence in *Scotland* is term'd *leasing making*, and by the Laws of that Kingdom Capital;

and this was so evidently prov'd, that he made no Defence, only shew'd the great Provocation that was given him: And yet the Injustice of his Judges is loudly complain'd of, when I don't see how they could determine otherwise upon so full a Conviction; for those who try the Offence are not answerable for the Severity of the Law; their Business is to determine only whether the Fact be well prov'd, and whether it be within the Intent of the Law, and if it be, Judgment must be given accordingly, till the Law be repeal'd or alter'd.

The Bishop seems still much offended at the turning out those Preachers that would not take the Oaths, or receive Institution from the Bishops upon a Presentation from the rightful Patrons; notwithstanding he tells us that the main Body of them came to that pious Resolution, not to pay any Obedience to the Acts of Parliament pass'd last Sessions. He observes also, that these refractory Preachers had a very scanty Measure of Learning; that they were little Men, of mean Capacities, passionate and indiscreet, proud, servile, affected, censorious and credulous, preaching against the Court, reviling their Superiors, and ever inciting the People to Rebellion, insomuch that very few, he says, pity'd the Distress they were reduc'd to. And it is a little surprizing to find our Bishop so much concern'd at the silencing these Men; surely much better, both for Prince and People, that these Trumpeters of Sedition and Rebellion were silenc'd, tho' there had been none to put in their Rooms. Was it fit they should be suffer'd to go on with Impunity to poison the People, and draw them into the Guilt and Danger of High Treason and Rebellion?

When praying and preaching tend to make People ten times more the Children of Hell than they were before, surely it is far from being a Duty, or acceptable

ceptable to Heaven, to attend the Preacher. Can any Sacrifice be thought acceptable to Heaven, where he that offers it has Treason and Murder in his Heart? Can the Pulpit sanctify Crimes? Or will the uttering Sedition or Treason in a Church, tho' under the specious Name of a Prayer or a Sermon, alter the Nature of it? Yet such is the Power of Custom, that a Discourse which we should condemn or abhor in another Place, is not only receiv'd with Patience, when deliver'd from the Pulpit, but we are apt to think it our Duty to attend and countenance it.

ABRIDGMENT.

Our Author now leaves his Countrymen the *Scots*, and proceeds to give a further Account of the Affairs of *England* after the Restoration; and having mention'd the great Men he had his Intelligence from, such as *Lauderdale*, *Shaftsbury*, *Hollis*, *Grimstone*, &c. he tells us, as he had often done before, that the King, abandoning himself to Pleasure, committed the Administration of the Government to the Earl of *Clarendon*, who appear'd no less zealous for the Preservation of the Liberties of the Subject, he says, than the maintaining the Rights of the Crown, and determin'd not to stretch the Prerogative beyond what it had been before the Wars: He would neither set aside the Petition of Right, or revive the Courts of Star-Chamber, and High-Commission, tho' he took care to have all things that were extorted by the Long Parliament from King *Charles I.* to be repeal'd.

He thought the Power of the Militia ought to be vested in the Crown, and procur'd that Matter to be clearly determin'd by Parliament: But as to Ship-Money, Tunnage and Poundage, and the *Habeas*

Corpus Act, he never aim'd at a Repeal of the Acts which settled these: And as for the standing Revenues of the Crown (as well for the Civil List, as the maintaining the Guards and Garrisons) he ask'd but 1200,000 *l. per ann.* though it is thought two Millions would not have been deny'd at that time; but our Author says that Great Minister had no mind to put the King out of a Necessity of calling Parliaments; for which Management the King heartily hated him afterwards, when he found himself in Straits.

The Fifth-Monarchy-Men, commanded by *Vener*, making an Insurrection in the City at this time, and killing a great many People before they were dispers'd, though their Numbers were but small, put the Government upon Thoughts of maintaining some standing Forces, in order to prevent such Disorders for the future: But the Earl of *Southampton*, our Author says, oppos'd the maintaining a standing Army, and drew over *Clarendon* to his Opinion; and thereupon it was agreed to disband the present Army, and to maintain only such a Number of Guards as might be decent to make a Shew with, and might be necessary to disperse a Mob; and these were pick'd Men, recommended by *Monk*; whose Interest at Court, our Author says, was now at a Stand, he was little consider'd afterwards.

R E M A R K S.

As the Bishop has been pleas'd to acquaint us with the Names of those Gentlemen from whom he pick'd up his Account of the Affairs of *England* after the Restoration, he had given us still greater Satisfaction, if he had acquainted us with *their* Sense of Things; for the present Generation are not so much Strangers to their Characters, but they would have

have been qualify'd to make due Allowances for Prejudice or Interest, as well as our Author. We have here, it seems, neither the Words or Sense of those Gentlemen, but the good Bishop's Guesse: And unless he appear'd less prejudic'd himself, that Liberty he has taken of retaining, rejecting, or altering Facts as his Fancy led him, and communicating only his own Opinion to Posterity, the Credit of his Work is not like to be very long-liv'd. Had he indulg'd us with the Relation itself, as he receiv'd it, and then given us his Reasons why he credited or suspected it, this had been dealing with us like rational Creatures; but arbitrarily to leave out, to add or alter what he heard, and give such Turns to every Relation as he saw fit, is a Method I believe no Writer ever attempted before, much less ever avow'd.

The King's abandoning himself to Pleasure, and *Clarendon's* wise and equitable Administration, are again taken Notice of here. These are the Subject of almost every Page in this Part of his History; and the Reason of *Clarendon's* Disgrace is said to be his neglecting to advance the Prerogative and the Revenues of the Crown, so as to make his Majesty independent on Parliaments, as he might have done in the first Heat of Joy for the Restoration; but our Author very honestly acknowledges, that it is a Question whether it was ever in his Power to have carried Things so high, if he had attempted it; and possibly many other more likely Reasons might be assign'd for that Great Man's Misfortunes.

They seem to have proceeded not so much from the Court, as from the Parliament, who entertain'd a most unaccountable Jealousy of his Administration; but they must be very insensible, or very ungrateful, to endeavour the Destruction of this Minister, if it was to him alone they ow'd the Preservation

servation of the Constitution, and particularly of their own Rights and Privileges, as our Author would have the World believe. But the ascribing too much to this Great Man, and the lessening and undervaluing the Services of others, and particularly of the two Houses themselves, in the Settlement of the Nation on the King's Return, probably did not contribute a little to the creating him those numerous Enemies, and at length accomplish'd his Ruin.

ABRIDGMENT.

The next thing the Reverend Bishop animadverts on, is the Execution of the Regicides: In which Proceeding, he says, the merciful Disposition of the Nation eminently appear'd; for tho' the Men were odious and detested beyond all Expression, yet the frequent Executions, and the seeming Piety and Firmness of the Sufferers, occasion'd the Crime to be forgot and begun to move Compassion; *Peters* alone, who had been *Oliver's* Chaplain and Buffoon, and most furiously preach'd for putting the King to Death, appear'd dejected, and was forc'd to keep up his Spirits with Cordials, tho' he had not the Grace to repent of his Villany. *Harrison*, on the contrary, a fierce bloody Enthusiast, who had offer'd to murder the King privately, if it had not been determin'd to execute him publickly as a Criminal, underwent all the Indignities and Severities of his Execution with a Calmness, or rather Chearfulness, that astonish'd the Spectators; justifying the Cause as the Cause of God, which he was assur'd God would own and raise up again, however it suffer'd now.

But tho' our Author seems to dislike these Executions, he is however displeas'd at the Mercy extended to some of their Brethren, particularly to

Harry

Harry Martin, who, he says, the Court spar'd only because he appear'd to be abandon'd to Vice and Profaneness. Nor were People less surpriz'd at the sparing *Milton* and *Goodwyn*, who had magnify'd the Condemnation and Execution of King *Charles I.* beyond all measure; *Goodwyn*, he believ'd, was sav'd for his Merit in sowing Divisions among the Secretaries: Why *Milton* was indulg'd, he does not pretend to say, but tells us he liv'd many Years afterwards, much visit'd by Strangers, and admir'd at Home, tho' he was then blind, for his Poem of *Paradise lost*; which was esteem'd the most beautiful and perfect Poem that was ever writ, in our Language at least.

From *Milton* he passes on to Sir *Harry Vane*, whose Execution, he tells us, was much blam'd; for tho' Sir *Harry* was for overturning the Government, and deposing King *Charles I.* yet he did not approve of putting him to Death, he says; and the King, on an Address of both Houses in his Behalf, had given a favourable, tho' general Answer concerning him, whereupon he reckon'd himself secure; but the great Share Sir *Harry* had in procuring the Earl of *Strafford's* Death, and in subverting the Government, but above all, the Opinion of his Capacity to unhinge the Government again, made the Court think it necessary to take him off. He had a Head as darken'd in his Notions of Religion, the Bishop observes, as his Mind was clouded with Fear; and tho' he set up a Form of Religion, it consisted rather in withdrawing from all other Forms, than in advancing any Opinions or Forms of his own: That the Sect he was of were call'd *Seekers*, and he seem'd to wait for some new and clearer Revelations; and tho' our Author had diligently studied Sir *Harry's* Works, he says he could never discern what he aim'd at: He has been told by his

Friends that he lean'd to *Origen's* Notions of a universal Salvation of the Devils and Damn'd, and to the Doctrine of Pre-existence. He behav'd himself handsomely at his Execution, the Bishop observes; but blames the Officers for suffering the Drums and Trumpets to interrupt him in his dying Speech.

R E M A R K S.

The Bishop justly observes, that the *English* are a compassionate Nation, and ready to pity the most notorious Malefactors; but that the Suffering of the Regicides, with that *Firmness*, as he calls it, that is, in so harden'd impious a manner, glorying in the Murder of their Sovereign; that this should move or increase the Pity of any but a Brother Rebel involv'd in the same Guilt, is something difficult to conceive.

And here it is observable, our Author casts the same odious Reflection on the *English* Administration, where his Friend *Clarendon* presided, as he has before done upon the Government of *Scotland*, viz. *That they sav'd one of the greatest Malefactors*, (Henry Martin,) *only because in his Imprisonment he deliver'd himself up to Vice and Blasphemy*. This would have become the Mouth of a Presbyterian Teacher well enough, who looks upon all that differ from him as Reprobates and Debauchees; but how so vile a Charge came a second time to be imputed to that Church of which our Author was a Bishop, and to that Administration which in other Places he so much applauds, is not easy to reconcile. What could the greatest Enemy to both have suggested worse? I know the Conversation of the Saints turns chiefly upon such malicious Insinuations as these; and our Author could not but often have heard them from his Mother, and his Uncle *Waristoun*, and possibly had

had repeated the Calumny so often that at length he really believ'd it to be true. But surely one so prejudic'd is very ill qualify'd to write the History of his own Times. The Sectaries, no doubt, will hug themselves, and glory in their Schism, when they see such Facts attested by a Bishop; when they are taught by one of that Order to believe that those who call themselves the Establish'd Church, take all Opportunities of encouraging Vice and Blasphemy, and are ready to pardon even Regicides that excel in modish Sins.

The saving *Goodwyn* and *Milton* seems to offend our Author no less than the Execution of some others, as has been observ'd already; whether a Malefactor is brought to Justice or pardon'd, the Government is always in the wrong, in the Opinion of Dr. Burnet; and the Reader will find very few Transactions in this History, but what might have been better manag'd, if this Reverend Bishop had had the Direction of them. There is another Observation, so obvious that it is impossible many Readers can avoid making it; namely, that our Author is ever exclaiming against the Clergy's intermeddling in secular Affairs; and yet no one Man, whether Lay, or Ecclesiastical, ever intermeddled more than he; and, if his own Testimony may be taken, ever understood the various Interests of the several Courts in *Europe* better than himself; and the Contempt with which he frequently mentions the greatest Ministers, even his Favourite *Clarendon*, because he did not, in his Opinion, understand foreign Affairs, is very remarkable.

But to return; the next false Step our Author takes notice of, was the Execution of Sir *Henry Vane*; this was mightily blam'd, he says, because the Declaration from *Breda* being a full Indemnity to all, except the Regicides, he was comprehended
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in it : Besides, Sir *Harry* did not approve of putting the King to Death, or of the Force put upon the Parliament, he says, but for some time withdrew from the Scene of Action, to shew his Dislike of the Usurper's Proceedings : But if we give our selves leave to examine these Facts, we shall find in the first Place, that in the Declaration from *Breda*, all those are excepted out of the Indemnity, who should afterwards be excepted by Parliament, and Sir *Harry Vane* was excepted by Name ; so that here our Author is guilty of asserting a most notorious Falshood, to conceal his Malice, and have some Colour to libel the Men in Power.

'Tis true, upon Sir *Harry Vane's* shewing some Abhorrence of his Actions during the Usurpation, the Parliament did petition his Majesty to spare him, and his Majesty did return a general Answer, from whence his Friends did hope he would have been pardon'd, but there was no Promise made from the Throne of any such thing ; and Sir *Harry's* Conduct was afterwards so very provoking, justifying all that he had done, and shewing a Disposition to act the same Tragedy over again, that he himself observes, that those very Gentlemen who were before forwardest to save him, were now the readiest to absolve the King from any such Promise, as he calls it. And the Judges told Sir *Harry*, when he again mov'd for Grace, that *Pardons were for the Penitent*, and not for those who still continued to justify their Treasons, and to revile and defy the Government. For Sir *Harry*, at his Trial, and when he was call'd to Judgment, had extoll'd the Covenant, justify'd the late Rebellion, and laid the Charge of all the Blood that had been spilt to the Charge of King *Charles I.* and his Adherents ; and said, he found nothing would satisfy the present Government, but in his Person, to condemn those that adhered to the Parliament,
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and that they might be rendered Murderers and Rebels upon Record. This, he said, would inevitably have follow'd, if he had voluntarily given up the *Cause* without asserting theirs, and his Innocence; and by his Silence, he should have pull'd that Blood upon his own Head, which he was sure would now lie at the Door of their Enemies, the Royalists.

It was a Speech much of the same Nature that the Trumpets interrupted, when Sir *Harry* was brought to the Scaffold, of which our Author so much complains; and the Bishop himself acknowledges, that the principal Reason of suffering Justice to take place on this Occasion, was the Apprehension the Government had, that he might one Day embroil the Nation in Civil Wars again: And yet this is the Man that he recommends as a proper Object of Compassion, and blames the Administration, that Mercy was not extended towards him.

But I proceed to shew the Falsity of another Fact, which our Author has asserted on this Occasion, *viz.* That Sir *Harry* did not approve of the King's Death, or putting a Force upon the Parliament; but to shew his Abhorrence of it, *withdrew from publick Affairs for some time*, which he was so far from, that his Hand was prov'd to a Warrant, issued out to the Officers of the Navy, to put the Fleet in a Readiness on that very 30th of *January* 1648, on which the King was murdered. He was prov'd also to be an acting Member in the Rebels Council of State on the 13th of *February*, and the 23d of *March* following, &c. and it was proved, that he continued to act in their Councils and Armies until the Year 1659 inclusive: And yet this was the Man that withdrew from the Scene of Action to shew his Abhorrence of the King's Murder. This is a Specimen what Credit we ought to give to the Facts related by our Author, when he is about to calumniate

luminate the State : And these are Facts we may observe, he had the Assurance to assert, when he could not but know the very Declaration from *Breda*, he mentions, the Act of Indemnity, and even the Trial of Sir *Harry* itself, would confute all he had advanced : But he presumed, possibly, the World would take a Bishop's Word for the Truth of these Facts without Examination ; at least, the credulous Presbyterians, his Friends, who are as remarkable for being imposed upon, as imposing upon others, by Stories that have any Tendency to promote their *Cause*, would require no Vouchers in this Case : He had long observ'd how fast they shut their Eyes against the strongest Evidence when it makes against them, and that they seem to dread nothing more than to be convinc'd of their Errors. And it is observable, that these Men, without having examined the Truth of any one Article, already cry up this History as the best that ever was wrote, not having considered, or perhaps given themselves the Trouble of reading that part of it which represents them in their true Colours, *viz. A Generation of Hypocrites, proud, covetous, censorious, prone to Rebellion, and ever murmuring at their Superiors.* For this is the Character he gives of his Friends in more Places than one, notwithstanding he cajoles and flatters them in others,

But with what Face can our Author constantly revile the Administration in these Times, when the Earl of *Clarendon*, he tells us, had almost the sole Direction of Affairs ? These Errors in Government surely are not to be ascribed to him, who in Prudence and Virtue, according to our Author, excelled all that went before him : Nor can they surely be imputed to the King, because he tells us his Majesty had resign'd the whole Conduct of his Affairs to this Minister ; to whom therefore are we to im-
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pute this Series of Mismanagements he complains of? For my part, I am at a loss to discover who he aims at, or what he drives at, unless he would insinuate, that the Times immediately preceding were to be prefer'd to these, and that in the Administration of a lawful Prince, we must never expect to find that Wisdom and Justice which is to be met with from Rebels and Usurpers.

A B R I D G M E N T.

The Cavaliers, we are told, were dissatisfy'd with the few Exceptions that were made in the Act of Indemnity, and still more with the Disposal of Places; in which, little Regard, our Author observes, was had to Merit, but most of these were directed by a Cabal that sat at Mrs. Palmer's Lodgings, where Clarendon had no Influence, never submitting to make his Court to that Lady, any more than Southampton: But Clarendon, to excuse the King in passing by the Cavaliers, would sometimes beat down the Merit of their Services, which laid a Foundation of implacable Hatred against him; and to load the Earl the more, it was given out, *that he advised the King to gain his Enemies, since he was sure of his Friends by their Principles*; but this the Earl ever denied.

The Bishop proceeds to give some Account of the Match with the Infanta of Portugal, which, he says, was first propos'd to General Monk, who gave Encouragement to it; and that the Spanish Ambassador, in order to prevent it, gave out, she was incapable of having Children, which no Body gave any heed to at that time, looking upon it as design'd only to put off the Match. And in Contradiction to this Report, which has since so much prevail'd, our Author says, the King told him, the Queen had been with Child, and Doctor Willis, one of the King's Physicians,

Physicians, affirm'd she had miscarried of a Child; but before our Author concludes the Story of the King's Marriage, he takes Occasion to acquaint us of a Pension of 10000 *l. per Annum* that was offer'd to the Lord *Clarendon* by *France*, in order to divert it, which, he says, he acquainted the King with, and both his Majesty, and the Duke of *York*, blamed him for not accepting the Pension. He proceeds to give a dark Account of the Marriage between the Duke of *York* and the Lady *Anne Hyde*, the Earl of *Clarendon's* Daughter, who being with Child, and near her time, the Duke, he says, endeavoured to shake her off; but she being a Woman of great Spirit, positively affirm'd she was his Wife; whereupon the King ordered some Judges and Bishops to examine the Proofs, who reported, that according to the Doctrine of the Gospel, and the Laws of *England*, it was a good Marriage; whereupon the King told his Brother, he must drink as he had brew'd, and live with her, since he had made her his Wife: At which *Clarendon's* Enemies rejoiced, as foreseeing it would create him so much Envy, that it must end in his Ruin, and this he was apprehensive of himself, and declared, he was so far from promoting the Match, that he was perfectly unacquainted with it.

Our Author takes occasion here to give us the Duke of *York's* Character. He says, he was very brave in his Youth, and so magnify'd by *Turenne*, that till his Marriage lessen'd him, he even overshadowed the King, and pass'd for a superior Genius. He was naturally candid and sincere, he observes, and a firm Friend, till Business and his Religion wore out all his first Principles and Inclinations. He apply'd himself to understand Affairs, he says, and kept a Journal of all Transactions, which he shew'd our Author; but according to the Charac-

ter the Duke of *Bucks* gave of the two Brothers, the King could see Things if he would, and the Duke would see Things if he could. The Bishop thinks the Duke of *York* had no true Judgment, but was govern'd by those he trusted: That he entertain'd high Notions of the Authority of Kings, and look'd upon all who oppos'd them to be Rebels: He was amorous, but not nice in his Choice; upon which the King said he thought his Brother's Mistresses were impos'd on him by his Confessor by way of Penance.

As to the Duke's changing his Religion, the Bishop says he told him, that after his Escape from the Rebels in *England*, great Care was taken, on his Arrival beyond Sea, to confirm him in the Principles of the Church of *England*; and, among other things, much was said of the Authority of the Church, and of the Tradition of the Apostles in Favour of Episcopacy; and observing that there was more Reason to submit to the Catholick Church, than to any one particular Church, and that other Traditions might be taken on her Word as well as Episcopacy, he thought he might very reasonably go over to the Church of *Rome*; and having been taught to believe a real but unconceivable Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, this went more than half way, he thought, towards Transubstantiation. The Bishop was permitted, he says, to talk with his Royal Highness upon these Heads, but could not alter him; and all that the Duke seem'd to intend by this Conversation, was to make use of our Author as an Instrument to soften the Aversion that People began to be possess'd of towards him.

The Duke, he says, was eager and revengeful, and lov'd rough Methods; but he was a frugal Manager, and brought his Court into Method and Magnificence, and, being Admiral, understood all the

the Concerns of the Sea very particularly: That he found all the great Seamen had a deep Tincture from their Education, they hated Popery, and lov'd Liberty; and in order to put the Fleet into Hands he could better rely on, he introduc'd a Method of sending Pages of Honour, and young Noblemen, to be bred at Sea, in order to qualify them for Commands; which discourag'd many old Seamen, when they saw how Preferments were like to go; and they thereupon went into Merchants Service; by which means the Virtue and Discipline of the Navy was impair'd.

The Duchess of *York* was an extraordinary Woman, our Author allows, had a great Knowledge, and lively Sense of Things; but she took State upon her a little too much, he thinks: She had begun the Duke's Life from his own Journal, our Author says, which she shew'd him; and the Duke intended to have employ'd the Bishop to have carried it on. The Duchess was strictly religious, he says, and us'd to confess to *Morley*; that she was generous and friendly, but too severe an Enemy.

The Duke of *Gloucester*, his Majesty's third Brother, the Bishop tells us, was an active Prince, lov'd Business, and was of an insinuating Temper, but uneasy that no Post was assign'd him: That he would have been Treasurer, but *Clarendon* told him it was beneath his Dignity; which he would not be put off with, abhorring an idle Life; but the Mirth and Entertainments of that Time rais'd his Blood so high, our Author says, that he fell ill of the Small-pox, and died.

He was lamented by all, but by none so much as the King, who was never seen to be more troubled than on this Occasion; which those who would not believe he had much Tenderness in his Nature imputed to the Jealousy he had of his surviving Brother.

ther. Soon after the Princess Royal his Sister, Widow of the Princess of *Orange*, died of the Small-pox: She had often supply'd her Brothers during their Exile, and was indeed their principal Support Abroad; however, our Author will have it that she died unlamented. Upon the Death of this Princess, the Bishop says, it might have been expected the King should have taken her Son under his Protection; but he fell into better Hands, namely, his Grandmother's. This numerous Royal Family, our Author observes, moulder'd away so fast, that while he was writing his History, all were reduc'd to Queen *Anne* and the Dukes of *Savoy*.

R E M A R K S.

It would extend this Work to an extravagant Bulk, I find, should I continue my Reflections upon every little Incident: I shall only therefore touch upon those Transactions for the future that may most deserve the Reader's Attention, and such as seem to contradict the Relations of other Historians. The Bishop, in his Preface, gives us Reason indeed to expect that we should meet with nothing common in this Work, notwithstanding three Parts in four of the Occurrences recorded here have been related by many other Writers: And where he concurs with his Reverend Brethren, who at this Day are the only Writers of *English* History, (as 'tis observ'd they were in Popish Times, when it was not expected that a Layman could either write or read;) I say, where the Reverend Brethren all agree in their Relations, and there are no Objections to be made to the Truth of the several Facts, or to the Inferences drawn from them, I shall pass them over without any particular Remarks.

The Duke of *York's* Marriage with the Lady *Anne Hyde*, our Author has not clear'd up to Expectation, and the rest of our Historians seem very much in the dark about that matter; the most satisfactory Account that I have met with is, that they were married, or contracted, in the *Low Countries*, after the manner of that People (who make no Scruple to cohabit before the publick Solemnization of their Marriages:) That from the making this Contract, they constantly liv'd together as Man and Wife, tho' they conceal'd this Intercourse for some time: That about four or five Months after the Restoration, the Lady being found big with Child, the Thing became publick Talk; but that there might be no Scruples rais'd hereafter concerning the Legality of their Marriage, or the Legitimacy of the Issue, the Marriage was solemniz'd as the Church of *England* requires, and Dr. *Crouser* who married them, and the Witnesses present, made Oath of it before the Privy-Council; and both their Royal Highnesses made Oath as well of the first Contract, as of the late Solemnization of the Marriage. Of these Facts undeniable Proofs may be produc'd; but that the Duke had any Design of dissolving the Contract, and proceeding to a second Marriage, I could never discover any Foundation; for all the Circumstances I have met with seem to contradict this Assertion.

In the Character the Bishop gives us of the Duke of *York*, 'tis observable, he says, that he pass'd for a superior Genius to the King till he married; but this Match so lessen'd him, it seems, that though he desir'd to understand Affairs, and apply'd himself to them, he was not capable of them, and had no true Judgment; and yet afterwards we are told he brought his Court into Method and Magnificence, and came to understand all the Affairs of the

the Sea very particularly; so that he did, and he did not, understand Affairs: And what we are to understand from the whole, or what Judgment our Author would have his Reader form of the Capacity or Talents of this Prince from these Passages, is not easy to discern. Most Men, possibly, when they meet with a Character where one part contradicts the other, will conclude nothing; and consequently the good Bishop might as well have said nothing; and indeed he seems to have a very pretty way of amusing his Readers, without instructing them, tho' the Preface tells us the only Design of the Work was to make Men wiser and better.

The Revels and Entertainments after the Restoration, which our Author so much exclaims against, gave the Duke of *Gloucester* the Small-pox, he tells us, (he could not take the Disease as other People commonly do:) He was much lamented, we are told, and especially by the King; but then the Bishop seems afraid People should conclude the King had some Tendernefs in his Nature, and therefore he adds, that this was imputed by some to his Jealousy of his surviving Brother; which is the most false and malicious Infination he could have invented, for all the World agree, there never was a greater Confidence between two Brothers of that Quality; and this is evident from the Duke's being entrusted at this very time with the Royal Navy: And our Author himself is apt enough to impute many of the King's Errors to the Influence of the Duke's Councils; which is not very consistent with his Majesty's entertaining a Jealousy of him.

The Princess of *Orange* died a little after, not at all lamented, our Author says, and seems to suggest something to the Disadvantage of her Honour; but possibly if he had mention'd the Thing he would have her censur'd for, the World might have a

more favourable Opinion of her than our abstemious Bishop, who could never endure any thing that border'd upon Gallantry; but surely he ought not to have left any such malicious Surmise upon Record, any thing that look'd like a Reflection upon her Royal Highness, the Mother to the glorious King *William*, when he acknowledges her also to be the great Support of her Brothers in their Exile; but possibly this might be the Quarrel he had to her; for to their Restoration he seems to impute all the Ills that ever happen'd to this Nation since. And 'tis observable our Author has just such another sly Reflection on King *William* her Son, and brands even his Hero with a secret Vice. Such a Propensity had this meek Father for Scandal, that he could not resist it upon any Occasion. And notwithstanding those malicious Suggestions of our Author, we are told by Mr. *Echard*, that the Princess of *Orange* was a Lady of a noble Soul, of admirable Virtues, and all princely Endowments; and that her Death was a most sensible Affliction to the King, and all the Court.

ABRIDGMENT.

The Bishop proceeds to give us an Account of Duke *Schomberg's* passing thro' *England*, in his Way to the Court of *Portugal*; he advis'd the King, he says, to make himself Head of the Protestant Religion, and to employ *Cromwell's* Officers in his Forces, which were the best in the World. That he advis'd the King also against the Sale of *Dunkirk*, but the Council were for it, believing it would put the Kingdom to more Charge to maintain than it was worth: Our Author believes some of them were corrupted by *France*, but acquits *Clarendon* from having any hand in the Sale of it. The Money

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that was paid for it was soon squander'd upon Mrs. Palmer's Creatures, we are told.

The Bishop next resumes the Account of the King's Marriage with the Infanta of *Portugal*, which was communicated to the Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland*, and not one Person mov'd against the Match in either Kingdom, he observes, except the Earl of *Cassils* in the Parliament of *Scotland*. When the King met the Queen at *Winchester*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, our Author says, attended them to perform the Nuptial Ceremony, but the Queen never repeated the Words after them, and the King huddled them over very hastily; but they were afterwards married according to the *Roman Ritual*, as the Duke of *York*, who was present, told our Author. She was with Child once, and miscarried, he says. She had but a mean Appearance, and was of a disagreeable Temper. And though the King for some time carried it decently, and did not visit his Mistress openly, in time he grew weary of that Restraint, and kept Mistresses afterwards to the End of his Life, to the Scandal of the World, and all that serv'd about him in the Church; for he would come from his Mistresses Lodgings to receive the Sacrament.

From Court we are carried over into *Ireland*, where our Author observes, that the Settlement that *Cromwell* made of the confiscated Estates there, was confirm'd; only a Court of Claims was set up, to examine the Pretensions of those *Irish* who had deserv'd well of the Crown, or were not concern'd in the *Irish* Rebellion; and we are told, every Man's Claim which was back'd with a handsome Present was admitted; and the Members of the Court (the chief of whom were the Earls of *Anglesea* and *Overy*) came back very rich. It was common, the Bishop says, to hire Sets of Witnesses to prove any thing

thing as they were instructed: Which Practice, he observes, was afterwards brought into *England*.

REMARKS.

The common Story of the Earl of *Clarendon*'s selling *Dunkirk*, and building a fine House with the Money, our Author does not seem to give any Credit to; but the Military Men, he says, were corrupted by *France*, to advise the Sale of it: I suppose, amongst these he reckons *Monk* for the principal: The Earl of *Sandwich* was too much his Favourite to be intended one of the Advisers; though Mr. *Echard* tells us that this Earl in particular advis'd it, shewing that the Coast was generally so tempestuous, and the Grounds so rolling, upon every Storm, that there would never remain a certain Steerage to the Port. But the Bishop would have done well not to have thrown his Reflections thus at Random, because he sometimes wounds his Friends as well as his Foes: tho' where the Charge is so very general, wise Men will not possibly be much mov'd by it.

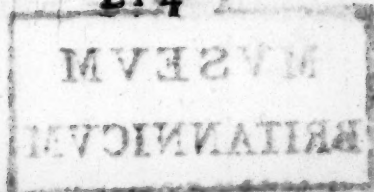
Nor does our Author fall in with that other idle Story of Earl *Clarendon*'s proposing the Match with *Portugal*, in order to fix the Crown in his own Family, knowing that the Infanta was incapable of Issue; for he makes *Monk* the principal Promoter of this Match, and the Parliaments of both Kingdoms advising it; and says further, that the Queen was actually with Child, and miscarry'd, and consequently not past Child-bearing when she arriv'd here; tho' these were Stories which the Whigs were once infinitely fond of, and gave as great Credit to as to any Part of the Gospel; and if they will acknowledge themselves deceiv'd in these Instances, I shall not despair of their returning to their Senses again,

again, and quitting that obstinate Temper they have been so remarkable for.

Our abstemious Doctor takes an Opportunity, p. 174, as he does in many other Places, to exclaim against the King's keeping of Concubines. This he seems generally to look upon as the greatest Crime a Prince could be guilty of, or rather, that it was all Crimes summ'd up in one; notwithstanding which, this very Doctor does, upon other Occasions, acknowledge, that a great deal may be said for a Plurality of Women. And Dr. *Whitby*, and the generality of our Commentators, do agree, that Concubinage is not an Evil in itself, but only as it is prohibited by the Gospel; for we can never suppose, say they, that the Patriarchs, and holy Men of old, would have been indulg'd in it, as God's own People also were, if the Practice had been evil in itself, and a Breach of the Moral Law. And it is observable, that even our censorious Bishop admits, that the King ever provided for those he entertain'd as his Concubines, as well as for their Issue, which must be acknowledged to be some Mitigation of the Crime. But if every Prince is to be looked upon as a Reprobate and Debauchee that has entertain'd Mistresses, as the Bishop calls them, what must become of the greatest Part of the Princes of Christendom? How many out of the Family of the *Stuarts* shall we be able to reckon up, that never entertain'd a Concubine, or had not some publick or secret Vice that was tantamount? And surely our Author never design'd to damn all, or most of the Protestants, as well as Popish Kings that ever reign'd? And whether he himself was perfectly clear of the Frailty he so much condemns, even after he was cloth'd with his Canonical Robes, seems to be a moot Point at this Day.

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But the Bishop seems wonderfully concern'd, that the Clérgy should be silent upon this Occasion, and suffer the King to be present at Divine Service, when he was such a notorious Sinner : But alack aday, had the King been one of his Favourites, how easily could our godly Bishop have overlook'd any thing of this Nature ? He tells us of another Prince whom he knew to be vitious in his time, and one too, who, he pretends, was govern'd by his Counsels ; and yet we do not find he was once reprov'd in the Course of so many Years as he attended him ; though this had been much more like a Friend and a Christian, than to have aspers'd him after his Death.

To proceed : Notwithstanding we are told that the King was wholly given up to his Pleasures, yet he was so wise, or so lucky, our Author acknowledges, to make choice of Ministers of the greatest Capacity and Integrity, *p.* 175 ; and these put the Justice of the Nation, he observes, in very good Hands. And does not this sufficiently confute the numerous Calumnies we have heard of the cruel and arbitrary Proceedings in the several Trials after the Restoration ? And will it derive no Honour upon the King, though he was addicted to Gallantry, that he put the Justice of the Nation in such good Hands ? Surely from the many Concessions our Author has made of this kind, it will be evident, that this Prince had some Virtues, some good Qualities to balance his Vices, though the Bishop utterly denies he had any thing good or valuable in his Composition, when he comes to sum up his Character : So blind is Prejudice, so inveterate this holy Father's Malice !

The Settlement of the *Irish* forfeited Estates was another Grievance our Author complains of ; though it seems the Duke of *Ormond* and the Court agreed



to confirm even *Cromwell's* Settlement: But there was a Court of Claims set up, whereby some who were upon their Travels, or had been in his Majesty's Service, were reliev'd. The Commissioners sent over from *England* he charges with Corruption. The Witnesses, he says, were hir'd, and nothing went right, he thinks, though he honestly acknowledges he was not enough instructed in the *Irish* Affairs to descend to Particulars. The Surmises of any driveling Fanatick Preacher, is Authority sufficient with him for the defaming noble Families. He proceeds to bewail the bringing *Irish* Witnesses over into *England* afterwards, who would swear any thing for Hire, he says; and had these Witnesses been produc'd only in Matters of Property, it would not have been so much to be lamented, but we find them encourag'd by great Rewards, to give Evidence in Capital Cases, and several Persons condemn'd and executed for the Popish Plot upon their Testimony, whom our Author acknowledges were innocent.

ABRIDGMENT.

And now our Author, p. 176. comes to give us a further Character of some of the most eminent *English* Bishops. *Fuxon*, he says, was promoted to *Canterbury* more out of Decency, than because he was fit for that Post; for he never was a great Divine, and now he was superannuated. The King treated him with outward Respect indeed, but had no Regard for him. *Sheldon*, who was prefer'd first to *London*, and then to *Canterbury*, was a learned Man, he allows, heretofore, but so engag'd in Politicks now, that scarce any Footsteps of it remain'd: He was quick of Apprehension, had a good Judgment, a pleasant Conversation, and treated all in an obliging manner,

manner ; but few depended on his Professions of Friendship, and he questions if he had *any Sense of Religion* ; for he us'd to speak of it as an Engine of Government, which made the King look upon him to be a *wise and honest Clergyman*. *Morley*, who was first made Bishop of *Worcester*, and afterwards translated to *Winchester* upon the Death of *Duppa*, had been a Friend of the Lord *Falkland's*, and afterwards of *Clarendon's*, in whose Family he continu'd many Years : He was a Calvinist, and thought to be inclin'd to the Puritans before the Wars, but after his Advancement, took care to give no Suspicions of that kind : He was pious and charitable, of an exemplary Life, but very passionate and obstinate. *Duppa*, Bishop of *Winchester*, had been the King's Tutor, but not at all qualify'd for that Charge : He was an humble, meek Man, and esteem'd for the Sweetness of his Temper, but not so charitable as was expected on his Advancement to such a See.

As to the Settlement of the Church, the first Point in Debate, was, whether Concessions should be made in order to comprehend the Dissenters. This, our Author says, *Clarendon* was for, and procur'd a Declaration that look'd that Way soon after the Restoration, but the Bishops did not approve it ; whereupon the Lord *Clarendon* alter'd his Intentions, not being willing to disoblige the Bishops, who had serv'd him so signally in the Point of his Daughter's Marriage. What made the Bishops averse to a Comprehension at this Time, was, *that the Presbyterians were possess'd of the most considerable Benefices*, and many of them had merited Preferment by the Endeavours they had us'd to bring about the Restoration ; but there remain'd a great deal of the old Animosity against them, and it was thought better to have *a Schism out of the Church, than within it*, and that the half Conformity of the Puritans, before the War,

War, had occasion'd a Faction in every Town in the Kingdom; therefore instead of using Methods to bring in the Sectaries, they endeavour'd rather to keep them out, which the King came into, as being subservient to his Design of introducing Popery; for great Numbers of the Clergy being disabled, and put under severe Laws, he concluded this would induce them to move for a Toleration, in which the Papists might be included.

And accordingly the Duke of York, and the Papists every where decried a Comprehension, but at the same time spoke in the behalf of a Toleration, as an Encouragement to Trade; and now the Court resolv'd to bring the Terms of Conformity to what they were before the Rebellion, without making any Concessions till they should see the Disposition of the new Parliament.

We are next entertain'd with the Conference between the Bishops and the principal dissenting Preachers in the *Savoy*, in order to an Accommodation. *Sheldon*, at their first meeting, acquainted the Dissenters, that this Conference was not procur'd at the Instance of those of the Church, who were well satisfy'd with the legal Establishment, and therefore had nothing to offer; but it was expected of the other Side, who desir'd Alterations, that they should make their Exceptions to the Laws in being, and shew what Alterations they propos'd. He directed them also, to lay all they had to offer before them at once, in Writing, for that they could not treat with them, till they saw how far their Demands went.

The Presbyterians insisted, that Bishops should not have the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction lodg'd solely in them, or the Power of Ordination, without the Concurrence of the Presbyters: They excepted to the Responses in the Liturgy, and required that all
might

might be one continued Prayer: They excepted to the Office of Baptism, the Cross, Kneeling at the Sacrament, the Surplice, Godfathers, and Holidays; and at last, nothing would satisfy them, but a perfect new Liturgy of Father *Baxter's* composing.

This *Baxter*, our Author tells us, was a Man of great Piety and Learning, and had wrote two hundred Books, but medled in too many Things: That he had a moving pathetical Way of Writing, and was a Man of great Zeal and *much Simplicity*, and yet *unhappily subtle and metaphysical*; and the Party were governed by him, to offer whatever he thought might be for the Good of the Church, without considering whether it was like to be obtain'd, or what Effect it might have. At length all was reduc'd to this Point, Whether the Church might order the Use of Things indifferent in themselves in the Service of God: And the Bishops press'd the Presbyterians to shew, that any of the Things impos'd by the Church of *England* were unlawful; which they declin'd to answer directly, but affirm'd, that some Circumstances might make it become unlawful to settle a peremptory Law about Things indifferent. And Father *Baxter*, who principally managed the Debate, being remarkable for his Talent of wrangling, the rest of the Bishops thought fit to leave him to the Management of Bishop *Gunning*, who was no less noted for his Subtilty; and these two, in arguing, fenced and parried with great Dexterity, to the Diversion of the Town, till the time limited by the Commission for this Treaty was elapsed. This Conference having rather widen'd than heal'd the Differences between the Church and the Dissenters, the Bishops proceeded to make the Terms of Conformity rather stricter than heretofore. They put Lecturers into the same Condition with Incumbents, as to Oaths and Subscriptions; they requir'd

requir'd them to renounce that *traiterous Position of the Lawfulness of taking Arms against the King*, and to declare the Covenant an unlawful Oath; and that there lay no Obligation on any Man that had taken it, to endeavour any Alteration in Church or State. All Foreigners admitted to any Benefice were also to conform, and be Episcopally ordain'd. The King, in the new Collect for the Parliament, was call'd *our most religious and gracious King*, which gave great Offence; but whatever Alterations were made, Care was taken, that the Presbyterians should be gratify'd in nothing; but a Declaration was inserted in the Liturgy, as had been done in King *Edward's* Reign, but omitted in Queen *Elizabeth's*, against the real Presence, which is ascribed to Bishop *Gauden*. This very much alarm'd the Duke of *York*, and the Papists, the Bishop says; and the Convocation, who revised the Liturgy, also order'd two new Holidays, and some Lessons out of the Apocrypha. They were entirely govern'd by *Sheldon* and *Morley* in these Matters, the Bishop tells us; and when they had prepared the Alterations, they were offer'd to the King, who sent them to the Commons; and thereupon the Act of Uniformity was brought in, being prepared by *Kelynge*, afterwards Chief Justice.

Upon bringing this Bill into the House, it was apprehended, that the Severity of it might have ill Effects, and therefore many were against it: But to procure it a Passage, Reports were industriously spread, that the Presbyterians were plotting in several Counties, to make an Insurrection, which our Author looks upon to be a Contrivance of the Court; none being ever try'd, though many were taken up for the Plot; but he acquits my Lord *Clarendon* from having any Hand in this Artifice: At length the Act pass'd by no great Majority, and those who did not conform before *St. Bartholomew's-day*, were

to be depriv'd of their Benefices, which the Presbyterians look'd upon as so cruel a Proceeding, that they compared it to the Massacre at *Paris*, that happen'd ninety Years before on that Day. But that which was something extraordinary, the Clergy, we are told, were obliged to subscribe to the Alterations before they had an Opportunity of seeing them, and that many who were well affected to the Church, left their Livings upon that Account. It was expected, that the Clergy should subscribe implicitly to a Book they had never seen, and many of them did so, our Author was informed by the Bishops themselves.

Reynolds accepted, it seems, of a Bishoprick, but *Calamy* and *Baxter* refus'd the Mitre; and about two thousand of them were depriv'd by the Act of Uniformity, as was given out by the Brethren; and our Author seems to justify them in setting up Conventicles against the Church. The Bishop makes it another Ground of Complaint, that the Fines rais'd by the Bishops and other Dignitaries of the Church, on renewing Church Leases, were not taken from them and applied to the purchasing a Maintenance for the poorer Clergy: He says, the Bishops and Dignitaries of the Church spent the great Wealth that accrued to them by these Fines only in Pomp and Luxury, and became so lazy and negligent of the Affairs of the Church, that if a new Set of Men had not arose of another Stamp, the Church had infallibly lost the Esteem of the whole Nation.

Among these he reckons *Whichcot*, *Cudworth*, *Wilkins*, *More*, and *Worthington*, who being disgusted with the dry systematical Way of those Times, studied to raise Men to a nobler Set of Thoughts, and to consider the Christian Religion as a Doctrine sent from God to elevate and sweeten human Nature:

ture: They also endeavour'd, he says, to take Men off from running into Parties, narrow Notions, superstitious Conceits, and a Fierceness about Opinions.

R E M A R K S.

As to the Characters of the *English* Bishops, promoted at the Restoration, I have already enquired into that of Bishop *Fuxon*; *Sheldon*, 'tis observable, our Author represents as having no Sense of Religion, while other Writers assure us that he fill'd the See of *Canterbury* with great Honour and Reputation, for above fourteen Years: That besides his Learning and *Piety*, he was particularly distinguish'd by his munificent Benefactions, in which no Man more readily signaliz'd himself; and particularly he immortaliz'd his Name, by that glorious Work, the Theatre at *Oxford*; and we are assur'd from his Relations, that from the Time of his being Bishop of *London*, to the Time of his Death, it appear'd by his Book of Accounts, that upon publick, pious, and charitable Uses he had bestow'd about threescore and six thousand Pounds. *Le Neve's Lives of Protestant Bishops*, p. 191, &c. And now is it not a little surprizing? Must it not raise the Indignation of every true Son of the Church, to find a Bishop who in his Lifetime gave away 66000*l.* to pious and charitable Uses, not only suspected, but charg'd and recorded in History by a Bishop of the same Church to have *no Sense of Religion*; and this attested by the most solemn Appeals to Heaven for the Truth of it? Tho' our Author confesses in another Place that he had no other Knowledge of the Affairs of this Kingdom at that time, than what he could pick up at a second or third Hand; and very probably from those who were sufficiently prejudic'd

dic'd against the Order; for this is the common Cant of the Dissenters, and the best they can say of any Bishop in King *Charles's* Reign is, that he was a moral Man; Piety is not to be expected out of that Pharisaical Sect.

To proceed; what an Asperision is here, both upon the King and the Archbishop, that the King look'd upon the Bishop as *a wise and honest Clergyman, because he spoke of Religion commonly as of an Engine of Government, and Matter of Policy?* He does not only make both of them little better than Atheists here, but has forgot, sure, his former Charge on his Majesty, that *Popery* was the Spring of all his Counsels; nor does he seem to remember the Concern he has in other Places represented his Majesty to be under, that the Bishops and Clergy did not do their Duty, and live suitably to their holy Functions: He must make Archbishop *Sheldon* also a Fool as well as a Knave, who, when he was at the Head of the Church, should commonly declare Religion to be but an Engine of Government, and Matter of Policy.

Bishop *Morley's* Character we have in Mr. *Echard*, p. 1045. He says the Bishop was a *Londoner* by Birth, and had his Education in *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, and was afterwards taken into the particular Favour, and made Chaplain to the late King, to whom he was inviolably loyal, and very assisting in some of his greatest Difficulties: Being an Exile with his present Majesty, (*Charles II.*) he got into the great Acquaintance and Esteem of several learned Foreigners, as *Rivet*, *Heinsius*, *Salmasius*, *Bochart*, &c. which made him fitter for the greatest Employments at the Return of the King, who generously rewarded him, first with the Bishoprick of *Worcester*, and then with the rich one of *Winchester*, telling him that he knew he would not be the richer for it; which in one respect

respect prov'd true, by reason of the vast Sums he laid out in repairing and rebuilding his Palaces, and his munificent Benefactions, as well as charitable Donations. He was a Person of extensive Knowledge and Experience; and though he was a strict Churchman, in Opposition to all sorts of Dissenters, yet he was a great *Calvinist*, and esteem'd one of the main Patrons of that Persuasion; and having led a pious and primitive Life, he dy'd full of Years and Honour, in the eighty seventh of his Age.

Dr. *Gunning*, Mr. *Echard* tells us, was a *Kentish* Man by Birth, and of *Clare-hall* in *Cambridge* by Education, where he was for some Years a Fellow, and from whence he was ejected for his Loyalty and refusing the Covenant: After which he strenuously supported the Honour and Credit of the Establish'd Church of *England* in the most dangerous Times, and at *London* kept up a noble Congregation, daily opposing and stemming the Overflowings of Presbytery, Independency, Anabaptism, Socinianism, &c. with unusual Vigour and Success. Upon the Restoration, he was made Master of *St. John's College*, and the King's Professor of Divinity in *Cambridge*, where no Man more gloriously adorn'd the Chair; from whence he was successively rais'd to the Bishopricks of *Chichester* and *Ely*; and all without the least Application: Here he was not only admir'd for his uncommon Learning, and his profound Skill in Theology, but belov'd for his exemplary Piety, and diffusive Charity to all Persons in Distress: He was an incomparable Disputant, and distinguish'd for his Art not only in bringing over Papists and other Dissenters, but in converting a considerable Number of *Jews*.

And Dr. *Kennet*, speaking of the Bishops promoted at the Restoration, says, *Vol. III. p. 247.* That the Sees were fill'd with Men of eminent Piety and Learning.

But how do these Accounts agree with the Characters our Author has given us of the Bishops promoted at the Restoration; particularly where he says, *That they only rioted in Pomp and Luxury, and became so lazy and negligent of the Affairs of the Church, that if a new Set of Men had not arose, of another Stamp, the Church had infallibly lost the Esteem of the whole Nation?* I hope Dr. Kennet and Mr. E. church will either support the Characters they have given of those Bishops, in their next Editions, or acknowledge themselves in an Error.

And tho' our Author makes the Bishops the Occasion of breaking up the Conferences at the Savoy without Success, Bishop Kennet has given us another Account of that Transaction, as well as of Father Baxter, where he says:

It seems very strange that these Men (the Presbyterians) should undertake to mention eight unlawful things in the Liturgy, when they could not affirm any one of those things to be in itself unlawful; but argued altogether upon the unlawful Imposition of them; which they might as well have done, by the same Argument, in eight hundred of other indifferent and most innocent Matters. And it must be confess'd to be stranger still, that of the eight sinful things they here enumerate, two of them, the fifth and the sixth, are positively false in the Supposition of them; for by the Liturgy the Minister was not forc'd either to administer the Sacrament or the Absolution to unfit Persons.

This Disingenuity, chiefly owing to Mr. Baxter, had taken away all hopes of Accommodation; but yet they proceeded to dispute upon the Question, Whether it was sinful to enjoin Ministers to deny the Communion to those who would not receive it kneeling? Where a great many Arguments were warmly urg'd about the making things, in their
Nature

Nature indifferent, to be in their Use necessary, by the Command of a lawful Authority. In this Dispute, Mr. Baxter is represented as very perverse, in denying every Proposition, when made never so plain and evident: For this major Proposition being laid down, by the Episcopal Divines, *That Command which commandeth only an Act in itself lawful, is not sinful*; Mr. Baxter deny'd it, because it might include another Act or Circumstance unlawful. Whereupon they chang'd it into this Proposition, *That Command which commandeth an Act in itself lawful, and no other Act or Circumstance unlawful, is not sinful*; this Mr. Baxter deny'd, because that may be accidentally a Sin, which is not so in itself; and a lawful Command may be commanded under an unjust Penalty. Upon which they thus clear'd up the Proposition, *That Command which commandeth an Act in itself lawful, and no other Act, whereby any unjust Penalty is enjoin'd, nor any Circumstance whence directly, or per Accidens, any Sin is consequent, which the Commander ought to provide against, is not sinful*. Mr. Baxter persisted in his Denial, giving this Reason, That the first Act commanded may be accidentally unlawful, and the Penalty unjust, tho' no other Act or Circumstance be such. The Opponents therefore once more advanc'd this Proposition, in Compliance with him, *That Command which commandeth an Act in itself lawful, and no other Act whereby any unjust Penalty is enjoin'd, or any Circumstance, whence directly or per Accidens any Sin is consequent, which the Commander ought to provide against, hath in it all things requisite to the Lawfulness of a Command; and particularly cannot be guilty of commanding any Act per Accidens unlawful, nor of commanding an Act under an unjust Penalty*. Which Proposition he also deny'd, and referr'd only to his foregoing Reasons. This Behaviour of Mr. Baxter was afterwards complain'd

of in Print, by Bishop *Morley*, in a Letter to a Friend, for Vindication of himself from Mr. *Baxter's* Calumny; in which the Bishop observ'd, that such a Way of Denial was not only frivolous and false, but it was destructive of all Authority, human and divine, as not only denying all Power to the Church, of making Canons and Constitutions for the Peace and Order of it, but also taking away all Legislative Power from the King and Parliament, and even from God himself. And so ended this Conference, without Union or Accommodation, the Presbyterian Divines depending too much on the Encouragement they had receiv'd from the King and his Chief Ministers, on the Assurances given them by some of the leading Members of the Parliament, and on the Affections of the People; in all which they were mistaken, as much as in the Merit of their Cause.

But what shall we say to the Character our Author himself gives of Father *Baxter*, p. 180. viz. That some of the Dissenters, at the Conference, were for insisting only on a few important Things, reckoning that if they were gain'd, and a Union follow'd, upon that it would be easier to gain other Things afterwards: But *all this was overthrown by Mr. Baxter.*

Again; he (Mr. *Baxter*) was his whole Life long a Man of great Zeal, and *much Simplicity*; but *most unhappily subtle and metaphysical in every thing*. Now can any thing be more repugnant than *Subtily* and *Simplicity*? and what are we to understand by this jumbled Character? He might as well have gone on, and said he was crafty, yet undesigning; pious, and atheistical; &c.

I shall take my Leave of Mr. *Baxter*, with an Instance of that Saint's Humanity, (not to say Christianity,) upon a certain Occasion: *After the Fight be-*

tween Lynsel and Langford, in the County of Salop, where the King's Party had the worst of the Day, Major Jennings, one of the King's Party, was stripp'd almost naked, and left for dead in the Field; Mr. Baxter, and one Lieutenant Hurdman, taking their Walks amongst the wounded and dead Bodies, perceiv'd some Life left in the Major, and Hurdman run him through the Body in cold Blood; Mr. Baxter all the while looking on, and taking off, with his own Hand, the King's Picture from about his Neck, telling him, as he was swimming in his Gore, that he was a Popish Rogue, and that was his Crucifix. Which Picture was kept by Mr. Baxter many Tears, till 'twas got from him, (but not without much Difficulty,) by one Mr. Summerfield, who generously restor'd it to the poor Man, now alive, at Wick, near Pashore, in Worcestershire; although at the Fight he was suppos'd to be dead, being, after the Wounds given him, dragg'd up and down the Field by the mercilefs Soldiers; Mr. Baxter approving of the Inhumanity, by feeding his Eyes with so bloody a Spectacle.

I Tho. Jennings, subscribe to the Truth of this Narrative above-mention'd; and have hereunto set my Hand and Seal, this 2d Day of March, 168 $\frac{1}{2}$.

THO. JENNINGS.

Sign'd and Seal'd, Mar. 2. 168 $\frac{1}{2}$,

In the Presence of,

John Clark, Minister of Wick.

Thomas Dark.

Preface to *Vernon's Life of Dr. Heylin*. *Barnard's necessary Vindication before Dr. Heylin's Life*, p. 51.

A Taste of the Saints Submission, &c. since the Restoration, p. 16. printed, 1705.

Our Author proceeds next to shew his Concern that King *Charles* should be stiled in the Prayers *our most religious King*, when he has told us five hundred times he was a damn'd Whoremaster, and no doubt it equally rais'd his Indignation as it us'd to do that of the Rebel Saints before him, to see Antichrist, that Whore of *Babylon*, stil'd his *Holiness*. Well, but it was very unlucky, it must be confessed, that this Title of *most Religious*, should be first conferr'd on that reprobate *Charles II.* Had it been conferr'd on any of his Successors, there might have been some Colour for it; for no open, or secret Vice, unbecoming the Christian Name, was ever laid to the Charge of any of these: But say the Doctor's Adversaries, we ought to suppose, and say the best of our Sovereign, till we have very evident Proofs to induce us to think otherwise. What Government can ever subsist, where every little fiery Zealot shall be at liberty, upon the slightest Rumour, to asperse his Prince, and arraign his Virtue? Let the Magistrate be represented as void of all Religion and Virtue, and his Authority will soon be trampled on, and therefore it is much more conducive to the publick Good, to think and speak too well of our Governours, than to traduce them for Facts we are not certain of; and if we are assured of them, perhaps are not competent Judges of their Malignity: But let us cast our Eye upon some of this scrupulous Bishop's Epistles Dedicatory, particularly on that before his Vindication of the Church of *Scotland*, and consider, if any Mortal ever deserv'd half those glorious Epithets he bestows upon his Patrons. The Duke of *Lauderdale* might certainly have reply'd to our Author, as one of the *Harrys* did to a certain Speaker of the Commons, who had bestowed on his Majesty all the Virtues and Endowments of the most accomplished Prince, viz.

Sir, I thank you for your Speech, not that I think my self possess'd of those noble Qualifications you have mentioned, but for putting me in mind of what I ought to be; and was it not an easy Inference for a Prince to make, when he heard himself pray'd for as most religious, to conclude he ought to be so, and possibly he might be induced by degrees to put on the Appearance of it at least, if he did not arrive to such a Pitch of Sanctity, as to merit the Prayers of our scrupulous Author? And after all, does any Man living believe, if the great Turk himself had been our Sovereign, that Dr. Burnet would have quitted his Bishoprick of Salisbury, rather than have pray'd for him as his most religious and gracious King? But as I have observed already, had the Liturgy been compos'd by an Angel, unless he had taken the Direction of Dr. Burnet, he would have found something to cavil at.

Well, but the Act of Uniformity had never pass'd, the Doctor assures us, if a Sham Plot had not been trump'd up to render the Presbyterians odious, in which Clarendon had no hand, he says; though we find the Chancellor in a Speech about this time delivering himself to the Parliament in the following Manner.

There are a Sort of your Patients, says he, I must recommend to your utmost Vigilance, ~~unforgotten~~ Severity, and to no part of your Lenity or Indulgence: Such, who are so far from valuing your Prescriptions, that they look not upon you as their Physicians but their Patients: Such, who instead of repenting any thing that they have done amiss, repeat every Day the same Crimes, for the Indemnity whereof, the Act of Oblivion was provided. These are the seditious Preachers who cannot be contented to be dispensed with for their full Obedience to some Laws establish'd, without reproaching and inveighing against

gainst those Laws, how established soever, who tell their Auditories, that the Apostle meant, when he bid them stand to their Liberties, that *they should stand to their Arms*; and, who by repeating the very Expressions, and teaching the very Doctrine they set on Foot in the Year 1640, sufficiently declare, that they have no Mind that twenty Years should put an end to the Misery we have undergone.

Bishop Kennet adds, that the Act of Uniformity was found necessary for the Peace and Safety of the State, as well as for the Good and Glory of the Church. It was undoubtedly, says he, the Faction and Sedition of the several Sects and Parties that work'd up the Wisdom of the Nation into this expedient Awe and Restraint upon them.

Our Bishop proceeds to lament the turning out the Fanatick Teachers on the passing the Act of Uniformity. There were, he says, as he was inform'd by the Brethren, no less than two thousand of the Saints turn'd a grazing by this unmerciful Act; but our good Bishop is not so ingenuous as to acknowledge, that but a small Number of these suffered for Conscience sake. Some of them, nay, much the greatest Part of them, had no Titles to their Livings, but intruded into them during the Rebellion, when the honest Loyalists were turned out by the Usurpers. Many of them were Independents, Anabaptists, &c. whom the Presbyterians themselves would have excluded if it had been in their Power; nor had it been possible to include these within the Pale of the Church, because they would not have submitted to any Government whatever. Several others had been most notorious Incendiaries and Persecutors of the Loyal Clergy, so that the Number of those who were turn'd out, purely for Conscience sake, was exceeding small; though the Saints, our Bishop says, and he seems to concur with them, compare the turning

turning out these Intruders, and restoring the Loyal Clergy to their Rights, to the Massacre of *Paris*, which happen'd that Day ninety Years before.

But here was a further Hardship in the Case; it seems, that the Act of Uniformity, and the Common Prayer Book annex'd to it, were so long a Printing, that Subscriptions were required to be made by the Clergy before they saw them; and this was done by many, as our Author was informed from the Bishops themselves.

In answer to this, it appears, that there were near three Months between the passing the Act and the Commencement of it, which was time sufficient for the printing and dispersing the Act, as well as the Common Prayer Book. In the next Place, there was not a Clergyman but might have repair'd to his Bishop long before the Day, and have perus'd both, if he had thought fit; and that Clergyman must have no more regard to his Interest than his Conscience, that would not make one Journey to satisfy himself in a Case that concern'd him so nearly. But further, the Doctor would have oblig'd the World much, if he had shewn one Instance, among the two thousand that were turn'd out, of a Man that lost his Preferment for not assenting to the Book of Common Prayer, when he could not get a Sight of the Book. And the Bishops, if there were any such, who told our Author, that many of the Clergy subscribed their Assent without knowing what was in the Book, must not only be Knaves for requiring a thing so unreasonable, but Fools to declare to the World that they really did put such Hardships upon their Clergy. *Will know this is the ordinary Presbyterian Cant, and our Authority when he grew old, not being able to distinguish between the Tales he had heard of the old Wives*

at home, and those he had *pick'd up* abroad, has blended both together; and his hopeful Sons have now published them under the sacred Name of History.

ABRIDGMENT.

Hobbs's Notions come next under our Author's Observation; This Man, he says, being disgusted at the Reception he met with at *Paris*, when King *Charles II.* was there, came to *England*, and published his *Leviathan*, wherein he endeavour'd to show, that all Men acted under a fatal Necessity, which was suitable to the Doctrine of absolute Decrees, so much in vogue in those Days: He suggested also, that the Universe was God, and Souls material, Thought being only subtil and imperceptible Motion. Interest and Fear he held were the chief Props of Society, and Morality was nothing else but pursuing our private Advantage: Religion had no other Foundation than in the Law of the Land, which ought to be fram'd according to the Will of the Prince, or the Vote of the People, for his Book was first written in favour of Monarchy, though afterwards turn'd so, gratify the Republicans. These Notions, our Author observes, began about this time to gain Ground, and this occasion'd the learned Gentlemen abovemention'd, who were for examining the Principles of Religion and Morality in a Philosophical Method, to be call'd Latitudinarians, as bordering upon *Hobbs's* Notions. The Papists particularly decried them as Atheists or Deists, or at best Socinians, for they declar'd against Superstition on one hand, as they did against Enthusiasm on the other. The most eminent Persons that were bred up under these great Men, were *Tillotson*, *Stillingfleet*, and *Patrick*. *Tillotson* was a Man of a clear Head, and a sweet Temper, bright Thoughts,

Thoughts, the most correct Stile, and the best Preacher of the Age; eminent for his Opposition to Popery and Atheism, and no Friend to Persecution. *Stillingfleet* had more Learning, but was of a reserv'd and haughty Temper: He wrote his *Irenicum* for healing our Divisions with so much Learning and Moderation, in his Youth, that it was esteem'd a Master-piece; but he retracted it afterwards, and fell in with the High Party beyond what became him, and contrary to his own Sense of Things: He wrote against Popery and Infidelity beyond all who went before him: He had studied our Laws and ancient Records, and was well vers'd in our Constitution, and was, our Author concludes, a very extraordinary Man. *Patrick*, we are told, was a great Preacher, wrote much and well, chiefly on the Scriptures, laborious in his Function, of great strictness of Life, too severe against those who differ'd from him, but afterwards more moderate. *Lloyd*, he says, exceeded all these in Learning: He was a Critick in the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, ready in Scripture Phrases, an exact Historian, and more punctual in Chronology than any of our Divines: He had read most Books with the best Judgment, and made the most copious Abstracts out of them; that he could with very little Labour write upon any Subject; and as much as he apply'd himself to Learning, he never neglected his pastoral Care.

Tennison, who succeeded *Lloyd* in his Cure of *St. Martin's*, our Author says, was a very learned Man, and took much Pains to fix the Charge of Idolatry on the Church of *Rome*: He stood, as it were, in the Front of the Battel all King *James's* Reign, maintain'd that Post with great Courage and Judgment, and was held in high Esteem for his whole Deportment, which was ever grave and moderate; and these, our Author thinks, were the greatest Divines

vines we have had these forty Years : They reform'd the Way of Preaching, which before was over-run with Pedantry, a mixture of Quotations from anti-ent Fathers, a tedious opening of the Text, Exposition of Words, &c. : while the Stile was flat and low, or swell'd with Rhetorick to a false Pitch of wrong Sublime.

The King, he says, though he had no Literature, yet had good Sense, and a true Notion of Stile, which contributed to raise the Value of those Divines above-mention'd ; and they brought off the City in a great measure from the Prejudices they had entertain'd against the Church.

Some Debates arose in Council, our Author informs us, whether the Act of Uniformity should be punctually executed ? The Earl of *Manchester* mov'd for Moderation, but weakly enough, while *Sheldon* press'd the Execution of the Law, and undertook to fill the vacant Pulpits better, and more to the Satisfaction of the People than they were at present. On the other side, the Party imagin'd, that if great Numbers of them stood out, it would produce some Laws in their Favour ; and it is thought many of them stood out more to bear their Friends company, than out of Conscience. The young Divines which came from the University did good Service ; Learning was then in a flourishing Condition ; the Oriental Languages were studied ; the Fathers much read ; the Mathematicks and the new Philosophy were in great Esteem ; and the Meetings that *Wilkins* began at *Oxford*, were now held also in *London*, and the King gave them great Encouragement, and had many Experiments made before him. And now it was that the Royal Society was first formed by Sir *Robert Murray*, the Lord *Brouncker*, and Dr. *Ward*, afterwards Bishop of *Salisbury*, whom our Author allows to be a great Man ; but thinks he was a Time-server,

server, having taken the Covenant during the Usurpation: But now that his former Errors might be forgot, fell in with the High Party, and became the most considerable Man on the Bishop's Bench: He was a profound Statesman, but an indifferent Clergyman, in our Author's Opinion. Many Physicians, and ingenious Men, went into the Society, but none labour'd more, was at greater Charge, or more successful in his Experiments than Mr. *Robert Boyle*, Son to the Earl of *Cork*, whom our Author here recommends as a perfect Pattern of a good Christian.

Soon after *St. Bartholomew's-day*, at the Instance of the Papists, but our Author says on the King's own Motion, a Declaration was published for the Indulgence of scrupulous Consciences, expressing an Aversion to all Severities, on account of Religion, which was done to prevent the Dissenters transporting themselves beyond Sea, as they propos'd to do about this time; but the Bishop is confident, it was design'd only to skreen the Papists.

And an Act was brought in, making it highly Criminal, to say the King was a Papist: This was done with a Design, he says, that none might speak against it, though the Design of introducing it was never so visible; and the Earl of *Clarendon* promoted this Act, he thinks, only to let the King see, how fatal the Effects of any such Suspicions were like to be.

The Church Party were alarmed at the King's Declaration of Indulgence, looking upon it as a Design to introduce Popery; and in the next Parliament it was severely arraigned by the Earl of *Clarendon's* Friends, who pointed at the Earl of *Bristol*, as the Author of it; whereupon *Bristol* resolv'd to leave no Means unattempted to ruin *Clarendon*. He had great Skill in Astrology, and had possess'd

possess'd the King with a high Opinion of it; and he told the Duke of *Bucks* he would lay that before the King which would alienate him both from his Brother and the Lord *Clarendon*; for he could demonstrate by the Principles of his Art, that he was to fall by his Brother's Means, if not by his Hand. Upon which the Duke reply'd this would have another Effect upon the King than he expected; for it would make him so afraid of offending his Brother, that he would do any thing rather than provoke him: And *Bristol* did lay this before the King; which the Duke believ'd had the Effect he apprehended; for though the King never lov'd or esteem'd the Duke, yet he seem'd to stand in Awe of him.

The Earl of *Bristol* proceeded to draw up a Charge against the Earl of *Clarendon*, and carried it to the King, who endeavour'd to persuade him not to prosecute it: Whereupon he told the King, if he forsook him he would raise such Disorders that all *England* should feel them, and the King should not be without a large Share in them: And the King thereupon left him, and sent the Lord *Aubigny* to soften him; but all in vain. Our Author suggests hereupon, that *Bristol* knew the Secret of the King's Religion; which made him so bold, and the King so fearful. However, the Lord *Bristol* carried the Charge the next Day to the House of Lords; which he had no sooner done, but he absconded, and wrote a Letter to the Lords, expressing his Fear of the King's Danger by the Duke's having Guards; whereupon a Proclamation issued for apprehending *Bristol*, who conceal'd himself till the Storm was over; but was ever after look'd upon as a Man capable of the highest Extravagancies. Here our Author touches upon the Clergy's giving up their Right of granting Subsidies; observing, as many have done before him,

him, that they have been little consider'd since. He takes notice also of the repealing the Act for Triennial Parliaments, without any Opposition made to it, tho' it was once thought the greatest Security the People had for their Liberties. As to our foreign Affairs at this time, our Author confesses he had no Knowledge of them; and proceeds to give some Account of a Plot of the Fanaticks, who were consulting how to restore their lost Game: One of the Conspirators being apprehended, it seems, discover'd that the famous *Waristoun*, our Author's Uncle, one of the Ringleaders of the late Rebellion, was at *Rouen* in *France*; that Court deliver'd him up upon Application made to them; and after he had been imprison'd some Months in the *Tower*, he was sent down to *Scotland*, and executed, being outlaw'd for High Treason some Years before.

We are next led to consider the Occasion of the *Dutch War*; which, the Bishop tells us, we were engag'd in by the Artifices of the *French*, without any Provocation from the States. Here he falls heavy upon *Downing*, the King's Minister in *Holland*; who, he says, was a crafty fawning Man, for any Side that was uppermost, and ready to betray any of his Friends that depended on him, as he did some of the Regicides, whom under Colour of Friendship he got into his Hands, and then deliver'd up. He had been *Cromwell's* Agent in *Holland*, and offer'd personal Affronts to the King and the Duke, but by his treacherous Practices had so recommended himself, that he was now sent Ambassador to the States by his Majesty.

There was no visible Cause of War, our Author says, but the King hated the *Dutch*; notwithstanding they had treated him with great Magnificence at his Restoration. But as he is offended with the King for quarrelling with the States, so he was no less

less concern'd at his Ingratitude in neglecting the Interests of the Prince of *Orange*, which if he had espous'd, the King, he says, had made a much more considerable Figure, but *France and Popery were the Spring of all his Counsels*. The French set the *English* and *Dutch* together by the Ears to weaken them, the States were the chief Support of the Protestants, and therefore to be humbled. The Earl of *Clarendon* was always against this War, but his Interest was upon the Decline; he begun to feel the Power of an imperious Mistress over an amorous King. This, our Author tells us, was the State of the Court the first four Years after the Restoration; and now he resumes his Account of *Scotland*.

REMARKS.

As to our Author's Description of *Hobbs* and his Notions, and the Characters of several great Divines that appear'd after the Restoration, it is unnecessary to enquire into them here, their Works sufficiently discover what Characters they deserv'd. But give me leave to observe (as has been hinted already) that Dr. *Burnet* himself acknowledges, p. 191, that it was the Justness of the King's Taste, and the Encouragement he gave these Gentlemen, that brought them into Esteem, and occasion'd that Reformation in the Pulpit Oratory, our Author so justly admires: Until then, the People were entertain'd, he says, only with long heavy pye-ball'd Discourses, intermix'd with Scraps and Sayings out of different Languages; the Stile flat and low, or swell'd with Bombast to a false Pitch of wrong Sublime; but the King having a right Notion of Style, and a true Taste, by the Countenance he afforded these Divines, introduc'd a more rational Way of Preaching, such as brought off the City, in a great measure, from the Prejudices

Prejudices they had formerly entertain'd for the Church. And if this be admitted, where shall we meet with an Instance of a Prince that better deserv'd the Title of *Most Religious*? If he promoted and advanc'd the Protestant Religion in this eminent manner, would it not have become this Protestant Bishop rather to have wink'd at some Failings in him, than to have aggravated every Fault so immeasurably as he does upon all Occasions? The reforming only of our Language, or even the Stage, has been look'd upon as signal publick Benefits; and shall the Memory of the Prince, who so remarkably improv'd that divine Oratory that tends to promote the Salvation of Mankind, be treated in that vile manner we find it in this Work, and not raise the Indignation of every *Englishman* who shall read this malicious scurrilous Author? This very Writer has observ'd of the Duke of *Bucks*, that he spoke of King Charles II. with that Contempt that it drew a lasting Disgrace upon himself. And what Disgrace, what Infamy must it derive on the Memory of this Wolf in Sheeps Clothing, to have recorded not only the Calumnies the Duke of *Bucks* utter'd, perhaps without Thought or Reflection, but convey'd them down to Posterity, with many more deliberate and studied Lies of his own, to asperse the Prince underwhom the Nation so eminently flourish'd and improv'd in liberal Arts? For our Author, in the very next Page, tells us that the Mathematicks and Philosophy were at this time in great Esteem; and the famous Royal Society was now erected, of which Dr. *Spra*, the late Bishop of *Roche*ster, as our Author observes, has given such an Account, as, in spite of Detraction, will make the Memory of that Prince honour'd by Posterity, who was the great Promoter and Patron of it: He was, by our Author's own Relation, far from being an uncon-

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cern'd Spectator of these glorious Improvements, but himself made several considerable and useful Experiments. After this Account of King *Charles*, collected from Dr. *Burnet* himself, surely all his Friends must blush for him who could so basely calumniate a Prince who was so great a Benefactor to Mankind in general, as well as to his own Subjects in particular.

The Bishop, in the midst of all these Improvements he mentions, brings in the Uniformity Act again by Head and Shoulders, not much to the Advantage of the Non-conformists; for he says they were so far from apprehending they should have lost their Preferments, that they hop'd, by such Numbers of them standing out, they should have produc'd new Laws in their Favour; and many of them, he thinks, went out with the Croud, only to bear their Friends Company: But some of them, he believes, cast themselves upon the Providence of God, and the Charity of their Friends, and being look'd upon as Men ready to suffer Persecution for their Consciences, it begot the Esteem and Compassion of many. The Truth is, very few of the Brethren were in that deplorable Condition they were represented; those who had been long in their Livings, had grown exceeding rich by the Plunder of the Royalists; and those who were not rich, met generally with a better Subsistence from the Conventicles they set up, than was to be found in most Parochial Churches, as we see it at this Day; few of them will exchange their Conventicles for an ordinary Living; and notwithstanding the Cry of Persecution, they live much better than the Ministers of the Establish'd Church, and lay up great Estates for their Families; while the Clergy of the Church of *England* many of them with Difficulty subsist their Families while they live, and leave them frequently

frequently greater Objects of Charity when they die, than are to be found among their Parishioners. The Saints, on the contrary, are remarkable for heaping up the good Things of this World, whatever their Expectations may be in the next.

Our Author having clos'd his Account of the Act of Uniformity, makes the King act a very odd Part afterwards; for notwithstanding the Encouragement we are told he gave to the most eminent Protestant Divines, he is now charg'd, p. 194. with a form'd Design to introduce Popery, by a Declaration, granting Liberty of Conscience to Protestant Dissenters: So that he does not only make the Court look one way and row another, but really row different Ways at one and the same time; for the King surely could not have given Popery a greater Blow (as it prov'd in the Event) than by encouraging such Men as *Tillotson*, *Stillington*, &c. as our Author acknowledges he did: Therefore he that can suppose the King's Heart was set upon Popery, while he prefer'd its greatest Enemies, must suppose him to be a very weak Prince; which is an Assertion our Author's best Friends will hardly come into. And really, to observe how indolent and careless, both as to Religion and Politicks, this King is represented in some Places, and how immers'd in Superstition and Politicks, in others, must shock every common Reader, and take off much of the Credit of this posthumous Work; for it is not in the Power of Man, how well inclin'd soever, to assent to Contradictions, so very obvious.

In one thing indeed the Bishop seems uniform throughout; namely, in asserting, as he does, p. 196, &c. that King *Charles II.* never lov'd or esteem'd his Brother the Duke of *York*, but was always in great Dread of him: However, this does

not only contradict the concurrent Opinion of the whole World beside, but, as has been observ'd already, is not very consistent with the King's trusting his Royal Highness with the Command of the Fleet, and other great Posts in the Government, and his suffering himself to be govern'd by his Counsels, as the Bishop complains sometimes; for can Fear and Confidence consist together? or do wise Men ever put it into the Power of their Enemies to destroy them? I recommend it therefore to the Bishop's Friends, to reconcile these Absurdities.

As for the Bishop's Reflections on the *Dutch War*, p. 198, they have been already consider'd; and therefore I pass on to the Affairs of *Scotland*, which he next resumes.

ABRIDGMENT.

Earl *Lauderdale*, our Author tells us, having insinuated himself into the King's Favour, charg'd the High Commissioner *Middleton* with Male-Administration in *Scotland*; and that the Earl of *Clarendon*, the Duke of *Albemarle*, and Archbishop *Sheldon*, endeavour'd in vain to support *Middleton* in his Post; notwithstanding they shew'd his Majesty that the Lord *Middleton*'s Party was only to be rely'd on, and that the Earl of *Lauderdale*'s Friends were cold and hollow in the King's Service. Letters also came from *Scotland*, complaining of the Insolence of the Presbyterians, and the Dejection of the Bishops. Upon this intended Change of the Ministry there, *Sharp* also came up to *London*, to lay before the King the Danger the Church would be in by the Change: Yet when he found the King was alienated from the Lord *Middleton*, he made his Submission to the Lord *Lauderdale*, who still reproach'd him with his Engagements to *Middleton*; and upon his denying

denying all, produc'd the original Letter which *Sharpe* had sent to the King in *Middleton's* behalf; whereupon *Sharpe* fell a crying in the most abject manner, and begg'd his Pardon, and *Lauderdale* promised to forgive him, and serve the Bishops and the Church beyond what *Middleton* was capable of, and so *Sharpe* became wholly his, he says: Of all which, *Lauderdale* gave the Author a full Relation the next Day, and *Lauderdale*, to maintain himself at Court, became really more serviceable to the Bishops than he would have been, if he had been always Episcopal, though whatever he did of that kind was contrary to his Inclinations, our Author assures us.

The King having laid the Case of the Earls of *Lauderdale* and *Middleton* before some of the *English* Council, *Middleton's* Friends said much in his Excuse, and for continuing him in his Post; but the King said, his Errors were so many, and so great, that his Affairs must suffer if he continued him, but promised to be kind to him, for he look'd on him as a very honest Man; and so, says the Bishop, his Ministry came to an end after a sort of a Reign of much Violence and Injustice, and he and his Party having been deliver'd up to such Excess and Intemperance, as *Scotland* had never seen before. His Disgrace was attended with a general Joy in that Kingdom, altho' those that came after him prov'd worse than ever he was like be. The Earl of *Rothes*, who was declar'd High Commissioner, being but a Dependant of the Earl of *Lauderdale's*, who drove much more furiously than the other.

REMARKS.

This Account of Earl *Middleton* and Archbishop *Sharpe* our Author honestly acknowledges he

had from Lord *Lauderdale*, a rigid Presbyterian, and their declared Enemy; and if we should for once admit that he has related this Transaction fairly, without any Addition or Alteration, what Credit can we give to it, where there was not only a Party Quarrel, but private Enmity in the Case? Let any Churchman consider what a Character he must expect from a Presbyterian, and one, who, upon many private Accounts, was his profess'd Enemy; besides, what Contradictions do we meet with here in the Compass of a few Lines? *Middleton*, the King says, he knew to be a *very honest Man*; and our Author a little after calls his Administration a *Reign of Violence and Injustice*. Who is to be believed here, the King or the Bishop? One Reason, I think, we have to suspect the Bishop, is, that he was at this very instant, by his own Confession, engaged deeply in the Lord *Lauderdale's* Interest, and, not improbably, bias'd as much as other Dependants used to be: Upon the Whole therefore I am apt to think, these Calumnies will obtain little Credit with those that give themselves leave to use the least Reflection.

But it must make any one smile to see, that when our Author had by his treacherous Practices lost the Favour of his Patron Lord *Lauderdale*, though he had before painted the Earl of *Middleton* in those vile Colours, he makes his Competitor *Lauderdale* worse than ever *Middleton* was like to be; from whence the World will naturally conclude, that Gentlemen are in this History represented as good, or bad, just as our Author happen'd to be in or out of their Favour. Let any one but cast his Eye upon our Author's Dedication before his Book, entitled, *A Vindication of the Church of Scotland, &c.* after ten Years Experience of Earl *Lauderdale's* Government, and see if it be possible to reconcile it with the Character he has given of Earl *Lauderdale* in this posthumous History,

ABRIDG.

ABRIDGMENT.

The Execution of *Waristoun*, our Author's Uncle, is next exclaim'd against: This, he thinks, was a Reproach to the Government, for his Memory was so gone, he says, that he did not know his own Children; yet at his Execution he was *serene* and cheerful, and read his Speech over twice, which our Author says, *of his own Knowledge, he compos'd himself*, in which he justify'd all the Proceedings of the Covenant, &c.

REMARKS.

This *Waristoun*, by our Author's own Account, was the greatest Incendiary, and most implacable Enemy the King had in *Scotland*; and upon his Flight beyond Sea, had been outlaw'd for High Treason, so that among the Fanatick Rebels, there was not a Man more obnoxious: All the Pretence there could be for sparing him, was, what his dutiful Nephew urges, *that the Man was mad*, but surely this is the first *serene Madman* that we have met with; and he was not only chearful and compos'd at his Execution, but our Author assures us, he made an artful Speech on the Occasion, which he twice read over upon the Scaffold. And now would not any Man think the Nephew more a Madman than the Uncle, that could deliberately record Things so inconsistent? I acknowledge, great Allowances ought to be made for our Author's Weakness and his Compassion for so near a Relation; and if he has a little misrepresented Matters, it is no more than Nature and his Presbyterian Education inclin'd him to. This was his Mother's own Brother, by whom he was instructed in his Childhood, and so strongly bias'd

in favour of the Saints, that neither his Reason, or his Interest, were ever able entirely to deface these Impressions. And in his old Age, even this Uncle *Waristain* does not seem more firmly attach'd to the Presbyterian Interest than our Author, upon all Occasions. He did not indeed actually resign his Apostolical Staff, because there was 3000 *l.* per *Annum* annex'd to it; nor did he care to part with the Honour or Authority it brought with it, because it was so suitable to his Pride and Ambition, but he was ready to sacrifice every Privilege of that Church, of which he was a Bishop, to the Dissenters, where it might not affect his particular Interest; and from a Man who acted so very unaccountably in his Lifetime, what could we expect but such a heap of Inconsistencies as are bundled up in this posthumous History?

ABRIDGMENT.

Our Author, p. 204. proceeds to tell us, that an Act passed in England, An. 1663, against all Conventicles, empowering Justices of the Peace to convict Offenders *without Juries*; and that any Meeting for religious Worship, at which five were present, was declar'd a Conventicle, and every Person present was to pay 5 *l.* for the first Offence, or suffer three Months Imprisonment; 10 *l.* for the second, or suffer six Months Imprisonment; and for the third Offence to be transported or pay 100 *l.* at which Severity all People were amaz'd, he says, and yet *Lauderdale*, and the Bishops, procur'd just such another Act to pass in Scotland.

REMARKS.

REMARKS.

This Act was but temporary, and is long since expir'd; it was made upon Occasion of that general Disaffection that appear'd about this Time among the Dissenters in *England* and *Scotland*: In the *North* the Dissenters broke out into actual Rebellion, and assembled at *Farnley Wood* in *Yorkshire*: They had their Agents also in *London*, and an Oath of Secrecy pass'd amongst them: They assur'd their Friends that the Insurrection would be general, and that they expected Forces from *Holland* and other Countries to join them. The Rebels being defeated by the Militia, one and twenty of them were taken and executed; some of whom told the Judges to their Faces, that they did not value their Lives in such a Cause. They had employ'd one *Turya* a Printer in *London* to print their Declaration, and several seditious Libels, for which he was condemn'd and executed. In one of these they affirm'd, that the People may put their King to Death, and that the Law of God excepts the King no more than any other Person, the Lord commanding his Saints to take a two edged Sword in their Hands, to execute his Judgments written in his Word upon wicked Kings. This Libel proceeds expressly to advise and encourage an Attempt upon the Life of his Majesty, telling the People, that if ever there was a Season that required the Lord's People to sell their Garments and to buy Swords, it was now: This Man (meaning their Sovereign) had his Authority from the People of *England*, or else he had none: That the People were not the Tyrant's Servants, but he theirs; and exhorted the People to cast off his Yoke.

It appears from hence, that this Act the Bishop so much exclaims against, was not made so much upon a Religious as a Civil Account; and it seem'd high Time

Time to restrain such Meetings by severe Penalties, where nothing but Rebellion and Sedition were preach'd up, and King-killing openly avow'd. Neither was this done till the Saints had actually broke out into Rebellion, and had appointed a general Rendezvous of the Party: The Government must have been guilty of their own Destruction, if they had sat still and not taken all proper Measures to suppress them.

ABRIDGMENT.

An Act pass'd in *Scotland*, our Author says, impowering the King to lay Duties upon all foreign Merchandizes; and another for raising an Army of twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse to march into any part of his Majesty's Dominions when they should be summon'd.

After the passing these Acts, the Parliament was dissolv'd, which gave a general Satisfaction to that Kingdom, the Bishop says, for they were a *furious Set of People*.

The King at this Time, we are told, restor'd the Lord *Lorn*, to his Grandfather's Honour, who was Earl of *Argyle*, and to part of his Estate, the Remainder being assign'd to pay his Debts, which it fell very short of.

Sharpe went up to *London*, the Bishop says, to complain of the Remissness of the Administration in supporting the Church, and mov'd, that a Commission might be granted to the Privy Council, and some others, whom he undertook should execute the Laws relating to the Church with Zeal, which Lord *Lauderdale* gave way to; though he saw it would prove a high Commission Court; whereupon our Author, young as he was, took upon him to expostulate very freely with him, Lord *Lauderdale* reply'd,

reply'd, *Sharpe* would ruin all, and he was resolv'd to give him *Line*; and if things should run to a Height, the King himself would put a Stop to their Career, for the King often said, that *he was not Priest-ridden*, nor would venture a War, or travel again for any Party. Our Author also press'd *Sharpe* himself to use more Moderation, but he despis'd his Advice, and grew very jealous of him. The Bishop, says he, had been bred up in a Love of Liberty and *Moderation*, and having spent most part of the Year 64 in *Holland* and *France*, it confirm'd him in those Principles. Here he takes an Opportunity of admiring the Gentleness of the *Dutch* Government, and the Tyranny of the *French* King, who at this time he thinks was designing to set up a new Empire in the *West*. When our Author returned from his Travels, he spent some Months at Court, where he had great Opportunities of being acquainted with the *Scotish* Affairs, he says, which drew on him the Jealousy of the Bishops, for *he was no Friend, he says, to Church Power, or Persecution*; and it was thought the Lord *Lauderdale* was preparing him to be set up against *Sharpe* and his Creatures, who were hated by one Side, and not trusted by the other.

Our Author proceeds to give an Account of *Sharpe's* coming up to Court upon the Death of the Lord Chancellor *Glencairn*, to solicit his Majesty, that one might succeed him who was a Churchman in Heart, but not in Habit, saying, he knew many that thought of himself for that Post, but he would rather choose to be sent to the Plantations than accept it. Notwithstanding which, *Sharpe* immediately went to Dr. *Sheldon*, and press'd him to move the King for himself, which *Sheldon* accordingly did; and the King demanding if *Sharpe* had put him upon it, *Sheldon* acknowledged he had, and it may

may be easily imagined, says our Author, in what Style they both spoke of him afterwards. However, our Author acknowledges, that *Sharpe* had still Credit enough to recommend the Earl of *Rothes* to the Seals, and that *Sharpe* reckon'd this his Master-piece; for the Lord *Rothes* being advanc'd by his Means, was entirely govern'd by him, and his very Instructions were prepared by *Sharpe*, inasmuch, that when he took his Leave of the King, *Sharpe* told his Majesty, he had now done all that could be desired for the Good of the Church; and upon their Arrival in *Scotland*, our Author assures us, there was a very furious Scene of illegal Violence open'd there. My Lord *Rothes*, who was the King's Commissioner in a literal Sense, and represented his Person, abandoning himself to Pleasure, according to the Example his Majesty had set him, and left all things to the Direction of *Sharpe*.

Our Author proceeds to give an Account of the Hardships and Oppression of the Brethren in the West of *Scotland*: Many of them, he says, were brought before the Council, and the new Ecclesiastical Commission, as he calls it, for pretended Riots, and for abusing their Ministers, but chiefly for not coming to Church, and for holding Conventicles; the Proofs were often defective, he says, and the Punishments proposed arbitrary, and not warranted by Law. *Sharpe* complain'd that Favour was shewn to the Enemies of the Church, and when he could not carry Matters to his Mind, he would prevail upon the Lord *Rothes* to say, he would take the Matter upon him, and do what *Sharpe* propos'd in the King's Name: That great Numbers of these People were kept long in Prison, ill used, and fin'd, and the younger Sort whipt about the Streets, which ill Usage made them still more sullen, and increased the Disaffection.

The

The Guards, he says, were quarter'd upon these Malecontents, by Sir *James Turner* who commanded them; a Man naturally fierce, but mad when he was drunk, which was very often; and he would without any Proof or legal Conviction, set such Fines upon the People as he saw fit, and send Soldiers to quarter upon them till they were paid. Our Author knew him afterwards, he says, and allows him to be a learned Man; but he confess'd, he says, that it often went against him to serve such a debauch'd and worthless Company as the Clergy generally were. In short, our Author says the whole Face of the Government look'd liker the Proceedings of an Inquisition, than a legal Court; and yet *Sharpe* was never satisfy'd, but went up to Court again, and complain'd to the King of the Countenance the Lord *Lauderdale* and his Friends gave that People; but the Lord *Lauderdale* threaten'd *Sharpe*, and made him retract all he had said before the King. Our Author adds, that he observ'd the Deportment of the Bishops to be in all Points so very different from what became their Functions, that he had an uncommon Zeal kindled in him upon that Occasion: They were, he says, not only furious against all that oppos'd them, but very remiss in all Parts of their Function: Whereupon our Author drew up a Memorial of the Grievances of the Nation, by the ill Conduct of the Bishops; though he confesses he was then but twenty three Years of Age. He writ several Copies of this Memorial, he says, and sent it to all the Bishops of his Acquaintance: Whereupon he was call'd before them, and treated with great Severity for his Presumption in offering to teach his Superiors, for arraigning the King's Administration, reproaching the Courts of Justice, and censuring the Laws; and *Sharpe* propos'd to the Bishops, that he should be summarily

summarily depriv'd and excommunicated ; but none of them would agree to it. Great Pains was afterwards us'd, he says, to make him ask Pardon, but to no Purpose ; for the Lord *Lauderdale* and his Friends were delighted with the Humour, and the King appear'd not to be displeas'd with it, and so *Sharpe* let the Thing fall.

R E M A R K S.

Notwithstanding this great Outcry against the *Scotish* Bishops after the Restoration, and the Persecution of the Saints in *Scotland*, this very Author has given a different Account of these Matters upon other Occasions : As to the Characters of the Bishops, he says, in the Preface to Bishop *Bedell's* Life :

“ I shall not add much of the Bishops that have
 “ been in that Church since the last re-establishing
 “ of the Order, but that I have observ'd, among
 “ the few of them to whom I had the Honour to
 “ be known particularly, as great and as exemplary
 “ Things as ever I met with in all Ecclesiastical
 “ History ; not only the Practice of the strictest of
 “ all the antient Canons, but a Pitch of Virtue and
 “ Piety beyond what can fall under common Imitation, or be made the Measure of even the most
 “ Angelical Rank of Men, *and saw things in them*
 “ *that would look liker fair Ideas, than what Men*
 “ *cloath'd with Flesh and Blood could grow up to.*

In his four Conferences printed at *Glasgow*, p. 278. speaking in the Person of a Clergyman, to the Presbyterians, he says, “ And for your Revilings, they
 “ well become the Spirit which appears too visibly
 “ in the rest of your Actings ; but we still study
 “ to bear these base and cruel Reflections with the
 “ Patience becoming the Ministers of the Gospel,
 “ and

"and of those who study to learn of him, *who*
 "when he was reviled, reviled not again; but stood
 "silent at those unjust Tribunals, when he was
 "falsly and blasphemously reproach'd by his Ene-
 "mies; and therefore I shall leave answering of
 "these fearful Imputations you charge on our
 "Clergy to the great Day of Reckoning, wherein
 "Judgment shall return to the Righteous, and all the
 "upright in Heart shall follow it; and in the mean
 "while shall study to bless when you curse, and
 "pray for you who do thus despitefully use us:
 "We trust our Witness is on high, that whatever
 "Defects cleave to us, and tho' may be we have
 "not wanted a corrupt Mixture (as you know a-
 "mong whom there was a Son of Perdition) yet
 "we are free of these things you charge on us pro-
 "miscuously; and that these Imputations you charge us
 "with are as false as they are base." And p. 289.
 of the same Conferences: "Let me freely tell you,
 "that when I consider the Temper, the Untracta-
 "bleness, the peevish Complaining, the Railings,
 "the high Cantings of the *Donatists*, which are
 "set down by him and others, I am sometimes
 "made to think I am reading things that are now
 "among your selves, and not what pass'd twelve
 "Ages ago: And indeed some late Practices make
 "the Parallel run more exactly betwixt our mo-
 "dern Zealots and the *Circumcellians*, who were a
 "Sect of the *Donatists*, that was acted by a black
 "and a most desperate Spirit: For St. *Augustin* tells
 "us how they fell on those who adher'd to the
 "Unity of the Church, beating some with Cudgels,
 "putting out the Eyes of others, and invading the
 "Lives of some; particularly of *Maximinus* Bishop
 "of *Hagaia*, whom they left several times for dead.
 "And what Instances of this nature these few Years
 "have produc'd, all the Nation knows: How many of
 the

" the Ministers have been invaded in their Houses,
 " their Houses rifled, their Goods carried away, them-
 " selves cruelly beaten and wounded, and often made
 " to swear to abandon their Churches, and that they
 " should not so much as complain of such bad Usage
 " to those in Authority? Their Wives also scaped
 " not the Fury of those accursed Zealots, but were
 " beaten and wounded, some of them being scarce
 " recovered out of their Labour in Child-birth;
 " Believe me, these barbarous Outrages have been such,
 " that worse could not have been apprehended from
 " Heathens. And if after these I should recount the
 " Railings, Scoffings and Floutings, which the con-
 " formable Ministers meet with to their Faces, even
 " on Streets and publick Highways, not to mention
 " the Contempt is pour'd on them more privately,
 " I would be look'd on as a Forger of extravagant
 " Stories; but it is well I am talking to Men who
 " know them as well as my self; from these things
 " I may well assume, that the Persecution lies mainly
 " on the Conformists Side, who for their Obedience to
 " the Laws lie thus open to the Fury of their Enemies.

And yet these Zealots are the very Men he com-
 plains, in this posthumous Work, were so hardly
 dealt with; and those very Bishops he gives that
 great Character of in his Preface to Bishop Bedell's
 Life, are the Men who in this History he says his
 Zeal was so kindled against, because they were not only
 furious against their Opposers, but remiss in all Parts of
 their Function, and no further Remarks will probably
 be thought necessary on this part of his precious
 History: But give me leave to observe further, in
 relation to Archbishop Sharpe, that our Author told
 us but a very few Pages before, that he was come
 over to Earl Lauderdale's Interest, and that that
 Lord promis'd to serve him and the Church, and
 actually did concur with him, and promote his De-

signs

signs beyond whatever Earl *Middleton* had done; and yet here Dr. *Sharpe* is made to take a long Journey to *London*, on purpose to accuse Earl *Lauderdale* to the King of Treachery and Remissness in Church Affairs; and when Dr. *Sharpe* was afterwards bullied by *Lauderdale*, and retracted what he had said, and is made to act as mean and vile a Part as our Author could invent, and the King was fully appriz'd of all this, he says, and detested him for it; yet we are told, *Sharpe* was still in such Favour, as to be able to recommend a Lord Chancellor, and to draw the Instructions by which the High Commissioner was to govern himself, and that this Lord *Lauderdale*, who had browbeaten and bullied the Archbishop just before, now durst not oppose him in any thing. For my part, the Contradictions arise so fast, that I rather think I am writing Dr. *Burnet's* Dreams, than the History of his Times.

Having observ'd with what Malice and Prejudice Dr. *Burnet* speaks of the Court, and the Bishops of *Scotland*, that his Behaviour may, in some respects, appear uniform, he proceeds to abuse and revile the Parliament. They pass'd whatever Acts were propos'd, he says, without Examination, and made the King as arbitrary as he pleas'd, and adds, that they were a *ferocious Set of People*: And now I think our Author may be said to have compleated the Character of his own Countrymen. The Court were all drunk and mad; the Bishops and Clergy remiss in all Parts of their Function, and violent Persecuters of good Men, and the Parliament were ready to sacrifice all their Liberties and Properties to the Prince; and if King *Charles* had that Fondness for absolute Power, our Author every where suggests, it is very strange he did not lay hold of so fair an Opportunity of effecting his Designs. The Impartial World will certainly conclude from hence, that Dr. *Burnet*

must have grossly misrepresented either his Prince or his Country, and very probably both.

A B R I D G M E N T.

Our Author having run over the State of *Scotland* from the Year 63 to the end of the Year 66, returns to the Affairs of *England*, of which he confesses he must write defectively being so far from the Scene of Action.

The King, he says, enter'd into an unjust War with the *Dutch*, which the Commons were so far from examining into the Grounds of, that they gave the King two Millions and a half to carry it on. A Comet appeared about the same time, which rais'd strange Apprehensions in some People, and the Plague broke out a little after, which gave the King's Enemies, and the Enemies of Monarchy, an Occasion to say, that here was a manifest Character of God's heavy Displeasure against the Nation; and indeed the King's ill Life, and the Viciousness of the whole Court, our Author says, gave but a melancholy Prospect.

However, he acknowledges that the *English* Fleet had the Advantage in the first Engagement, which, if it had been followed, might have been fatal to the *Dutch*, he thinks, and he imputes it to the Cowardice of the Admiral, the Duke of *York*, that the *Dutch* Fleet were suffer'd to escape to their Harbours. This, he says, broke the Designs of the King's whole Reign, for the *Dutch* themselves acknowledge, that if the *English* had pursu'd them, they had either sunk or taken their whole Fleet.

Our Author, p. 222, gives an Account of the Attack made upon the *Dutch-East-India* Fleet at *Burghen* in *Norway*. The Design, he says, was well laid, and would have been fatal to the *Dutch*, if it had

had not miscarry'd by the impatient *Ravenousness* of the *English*. After this Misfortune, he says, there was *not one good Step* made during the whole War.

R E M A R K S.

When I came to review our Histories and Parliamentary Proceedings in relation to the first *Dutch* War, I was really surpriz'd to find how palpably our Author had misrepresented that Matter.

Notwithstanding those vile Insinuations of our Author concerning the King and the Court of *England*, as if they had unjustly sought an Opportunity of entring into that War with a Design to ruin the *Dutch* State, and advance the Interest of Popery, it is very notorious, that this War did not proceed from any Intrigues of the Court, but from the just Complaints of the People. The City of *London*, and the Houses of Parliament observing the Encroachments and Depredations of the *Dutch* upon the *English* Trade by their Addresses and Representations to the Throne, gave the first Rise to that War. It is observable, that the King in his Speech, at the opening the Sessions of Parliament a little before this War broke out, does not so much as mention the *Dutch* or any thing that look'd like an Intention to break with that State, which is very strange, if the Court had then any such Design.

On the other Hand, it is apparent, that our Merchants and People were so provok'd at this time, at the Piracies and Depredations of the *Dutch*, and their Attempts to obtain the Dominion of the Sea, and to engross the Trade of the World to themselves, that Bishop Kennet Vol. III. p. 270. says, at the first opening of the Sessions, *there was a general Discontent and Murmur against the Dutch for breaking in upon*

upon our Trade, and affronting our Nation with several publick Injuries and Insolencies that were indeed very provoking; wherein they were encouraged by the French Court, and had a Promise of Support and Assistance from it. The House of Commons took this Matter into their first Consideration, and appointed a Committee to examine the Complaints of the Encroachments made by the *Hollanders* upon the Trade of *England*; and after a Report made by Mr. Clifford, the House agreed upon a Resolution to this Effect:

That the Wrongs, Dishonours and Indignities, the Damages, Affronts and Injuries done by the Subjects of the United Provinces to our Merchants, were the greatest Obstructions to all foreign Trade: And therefore that his Majesty should be moved to take a speedy and effectual Course for the Redress thereof, and that they would assist him with their Lives and Fortunes against all Opposition whatsoever.

The Lords concurred in this Sense of publick Honour and Interest, and so both Houses attended his Majesty with an Address to represent the common Danger. His Majesty declar'd his high Esteem of their Care and Tenderneſs for the Honour and Good of the Nation, and expreſs'd his own Royal Sense of preserving the Freedom of Trade and the Dominion of the Seas, letting them farther know, that he would examine and prove the particular Complaints, that he would demand Satisfaction by a publick Minister, and do his utmost Endeavours to secure his Subjects from the like Violences for the future, depending upon the Promise of both Houses to stand by him: For which Royal Assurance, both Houses returned their humble and hearty Thanks.

He tells us further, p. 271. That Sir George Downing, the *English* Ambassador, gave a Memorial to the States

States General of the great Damages and Injuries the *English* had sustain'd, and demanded Reparation ; but the *Dutch* from time to time declined giving an express Answer, and put off all Proposals of making Satisfaction.

As to our falling upon their *Bourdeaux* Fleet before War was declar'd, how can the *Dutch* complain of this, who had first fallen upon the *English* Plantations and Shipping on the Coast of *Africa*, in the *West-Indies*, and elsewhere ? Bishop *Kennet* observes also, that this was not a *French* Trick, or an Intrigue of our own Ministry, (as some, and particularly our Reverend Author, have laboured to misrepresent it) but it was the very Voice of the *English* People, and especially the Cry of all our Merchants and Traders.

The City of *London* were so full of Resentment against the *Dutch*, for engrossing and usurping upon Navigation and Commerce, that they not only lent one hundred thousand Pounds for Expedition of the Fleet, but when the King still wanted another like Sum, they advanced it with the same Readiness upon a Motion of the Earl of *Manchester*. Lord Chamberlain, in a Speech deliver'd at the *Guild-hall* in *London* on *Thursday, December 1.* where were present many Members of both Houses of Parliament, who brought with them an Order presented by the Lord Chamberlain to the Lord-Mayor, and read by Mr. *Avery*, Deputy Town-Clerk, in these Words, *Die Veneris 25, Novemb. 1664. Order'd by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled, that the Thanks of both Houses of Parliament be given unto the City of London, for their Forwardness in assisting his Majesty ; and in particular, by furnishing him with several great Sums of Money towards his Preparations, for the Honour, Safety, and Trade of the Nation.*

Give me leave to recite here a Paragraph or two of the Declaration of War, which was unanimously agreed to in Council, when many of our Author's Friends were present, particularly the Earls of *Manchester, Anglesey, Lauderdale, and Shaftsbury*, viz.

“Whereas upon Complaints of the several Injuries, Affronts, and Spoils, done by the *East and West-India Companies*, and other the Subjects of the United Provinces, unto, and upon the Ships, Goods, and Persons of our Subjects, to their grievous Damages, and amounting to vast Sums, instead of Reparation and Satisfaction, which hath been by us frequently demanded, we found that Orders had been given to *De Ruyter*, not only to abandon the Consortship against the Pyrates of the *Mediterranean Seas*, (to which the States General had invited us) but also to use all Acts of Depredation and Hostility against our Subjects in Africa.

“We thereupon gave Order for the detaining the Ships belonging to the States of the United Provinces, their Subjects and Inhabitants; yet notwithstanding we did not give any Commission for Letters of Mart, nor were there any Proceedings against the Ships detain'd, until we had a clear and undeniable Evidence, that *De Ruyter* had put the said Orders in Execution, by seizing several of our Subjects Ships and Goods.

Bishop Kennet adds, p. 273. The highest Provocation to this War, was the perfidious Baseness of *De Ruyter*, who commanded the Squadron sent by the States in Conjunction with an *English Fleet* under Sir *John Lawson*, to reduce the *Algerines* to the Terms of Peace, and free Trade: When as soon as *De Ruyter* enter'd the Streights, and had cruiz'd a little about *Gibraltar*, he deserted the *English*, and the common Service, and sail'd away to the Coasts of *Guinea*, and dispossest the *English* of their Factories

at Cape Verd and the Isle of Gogee, and after that struck off to the Barbadoes, and made an Attempt of landing, but was beat off with Loss and Shame; and then stood for Long Island, and there committed great Depredations upon the English; thus ingloriously beginning a Pyratrical War under the sacred Bands of Friendship and Alliance. And they insulted the English for the Losses by such Treachery brought upon them; for a Dutchman in London pretending himself to be a Swede lately come from Guinea, made it his profest Business and Pleasure to report the utter Destruction of the English there by De Ruyter; for which Insolence he was on Feb. 25. whipp'd thro' the Streets of London.

And now must not our Author's Friends blush to see him thus notoriously misrepresent Facts he could not be ignorant of? to see him first traducing his own Nation, who gave Birth to this hopeful Historian, and then the Nation to whom he was so much indebted for the Honours and Preferments bestow'd upon him; to see him abusing, reviling and betraying those Princes and Ministers who had honour'd him with their Confidence and Countenance, (by his own Confession,) and offer'd him the best Preferments in the Church, tho', if we can believe him, he had the Modesty and Self-denial to refuse them? Does the vain Scot hope to be deem'd a faithful Historian, only for traducing his Patrons and Benefactors, and that People to whom he was indebted for all that he enjoy'd? Are we to believe him, because he chooses to gratify his Spleen in railing at the several Governments he has liv'd under, in a Work which he took care should not be publish'd till he was far enough out of their Reach? Are we to credit a Man the more because he carries his Malice and Resentment to the

Grave, when we find him asserting the most notorious Falshoods in a hundred Instances?

But to proceed: Where shall we find such an Instance of implacable Malice, as in our Author's Relation of the Victory obtain'd over the *Dutch*?

In the first place, he seems resolv'd that nothing shall be ascrib'd to the Conduct of the *English* Commanders, or their Admiral; their Advantage, he says, is well known to be occasion'd by some Accidents that disorder'd the *Dutch*. For my part, I never heard of any other Accident than the blowing up *Opdam*, one of the seven *Dutch* Admirals, towards the latter End of the Engagement: If there were any Advantages at first, it was on the Side of the *Dutch*, who had the Weather-Gage. Mr. *Echard*, no great Friend to his Royal Highness, gives us the following Account of this Battle, p. 820.

“ The News of this, (of the *Dutch* having intercepted our *Hamburgh* Fleet,) says he, “ rouz'd the
 “ Duke of *York*, who resolv'd to lose no time in
 “ meeting the Enemy; and on the 22d of *June*,
 “ not far from the Coast of *Harwich*, the two
 “ greatest Naval Powers in the World began to
 “ face each other: The *Dutch*, tho' they had the
 “ Advantage of the Wind, declin'd the present En-
 “ gagement, as something ominous, because just that
 “ Day twelve Years Admiral *Monk* had given them
 “ a remarkable Overthrow: The next Day, very
 “ soon in the Morning, the Battle began, with
 “ dreadful Thundrings on both Sides; after they
 “ had fir'd at some Distance, they came to a close
 “ Fight, which for some time was carried on with
 “ great Fury on both Sides: The Duke of *York*
 “ and Admiral *Opdam* fell aside into a fierce and
 “ close Engagement, with all imaginable Bravery,
 “ in which the Duke ply'd him so sharply that he
 “ not

“ not only over-power’d him, but so beat his own
“ Fire upon him, that his Great Ship, Himself and
“ his Men, were all, with a prodigious Concussion,
“ blown up into the Air. This threw the *Dutch*
“ into a great Consternation; and a signal Victory
“ follow’d on the *English* Side, who took eighteen
“ Capital Men of War, and sunk and fir’d about
“ fourteen more, with the Loss of only one of
“ theirs, the *Charity*, which had been before taken
“ from the Enemy. We have good Reason to be-
“ lieve that the Fleet had been totally destroy’d,
“ had not one Mr. *Brunkard*, of the Duke’s Bed-
“ Chamber, prevented the Execution of his Orders,
“ the very Night after the Victory. It seems the
“ Duke having given Orders to make all Sail, and
“ pursue the Remainder of the broken Navy, and
“ having laid down to take a little Rest, that Gen-
“ tleman took the Liberty to tell Sir *John Harman*
“ the Captain, he was too lavish in exposing the
“ Heir of the Crown, and counterfeited a new Or-
“ der from him for slackning Sail; to which the
“ other unadvisedly consented; for which *Brunkard*
“ was afterwards tax’d in the House of Commons.
“ The Loss of the *Dutch* was computed at eight
“ thousand Men kill’d or taken Prisoners: That
“ of the *English* was much less than a thousand; of
“ whom about sixty were in the Duke’s Ship: Indeed
“ they lost several brave Men of Quality and Cou-
“ rage, the Earl of *Falmouth*, the Lord *Muskerry*,
“ and the honourable Mr. *Boyle*, fell all three by one
“ Canon-Shot, so near the Person of the Duke.
“ that he was almost cover’d with their Blood and
“ Brains, while he himself gave an Example of the
“ greatest Courage and Conduct.

And here would it not raise the Indignation of
every *Englishman*, to see his Country depriv’d of
the Glory of the most signal Victory that ever the
English

English obtain'd at Sea, by the malicious Insinuations of this false *Scot*; to see all the Duke's Laurels torn from his Brows, and when he had so signally hazarded his Person in his Country's Service, branded with the vile Imputation of a *Coward*?

And upon what slender Evidence, what weak Surmises, is this detested Calumny grounded, which contradicts the most universal and positive Testimony that ever was given of a Commander's Bravery and Conduct?

Why we are told, that *Pen* saying *they must prepare for hotter Work in the next Engagement*, made an Impression on the Duke, as the Earl of *Montague* thought; (from whom our Author had it.)

And again, the Lord *Montague* did believe that the Duke was *struck*, seeing the Earl of *Falmouth*, the King's Favourite, and two other Persons of Quality, kill'd very near him.

And to confirm all this, he tells us that *Pen*, who shorten'd Sail upon *Brunkard*'s bringing him the pretended Orders above-mention'd, was more in the Duke's Favour after that, than ever he had been before.

This is the Sum of the Bishop's Proof of the Duke's Cowardice. Now as to *Pen*'s being in Favour upon this Occasion, it is observable that our other Historians say, the Order for shortning Sail was brought to Sir *John Harman*, and not to *Pen*; so that his Favour to *Pen* afterwards is very far from being an Evidence of this Calumny.

In the next place, is it not very strange that the Duke should be more afraid of the *Dutch* Fleet when they had lost their Admiral, and above thirty Men of War, and were running away from him, than he was at the beginning of the Engagement; especially when the *English* had not lost above one Ship? The greatest Coward, when he saw a shatter'd Ene-

my

my flying before him, would have continued the Pursuit; and by what I can learn from all that have been in Engagements, the greatest Terror is in the first Onset: When Men have been a little inur'd to the Danger, and find many more escape than perish, it gives them an Increase of Courage, and is very far from disheartning them; and when they see an Enemy fly, it will give Courage to them who had none before: I appeal to all that have ever been in an Engagement, as to the Justness of these Observations; and if it does not excite in them the highest Detestation of a Writer who could use a Prince that had been so indulgent to him, in so barbarous a manner; especially when all the World knows this Prince employ'd his Youth in the continual Exercise of Arms, and sought all Opportunities of realizing his Courage: And our Author himself acknowledges, p. 168. *That he was very brave in his Youth.*

As to the ill Success of the *English* Squadron, which attack'd the *Dutch* Ships under the Canon of *Bergben* in *Norway*, which our Author imputes to the *Ravenousness* of the *English*, what Credit can the *English* Nation afford a Writer who speaks of their bravest Actions in such reproachful Terms?

Bishop Kennet more truly, as well as more rationally, imputes their ill Success to the contrary Winds, and the Assistance the *Danes* gave in raising Batteries against them; but as it was, he says, the *English* behav'd with that *Resolution*, (*Ravenousness*, our Author would have call'd it,) that some of the *Dutch* were fir'd, and many of them disabled; and that afterward the *English* Fleet setting sail for the Coast of *Holland*, met with the *Dutch East-India* Men, &c. under a good Convoy, and they took eight *Dutch* Men of War, two *East-India* Men, and twenty other Merchant Ships, and a little after
several

several more; and yet our Author tells us, *not one good Step was made after the first Engagement*: Which is the more strange too, because the Earl of *Sandwich*, of whom our Author in other Places seems to retain so great an Opinion, commanded the Fleet.

ABRIDGMENT.

Our Author next exclaims against the Act which prohibited the Fanatick Teachers to come within five Miles of any City or Borough, or Church where they had officiated: Tho' he confesses the Saints were practising at this very time against the State; and that *Algernon Sydney* and the *Commonwealthsmen* press'd the *Dutch* to invade *England* and *Scotland*, and gave them Assurances of their finding a strong Party among the Brethren, and even undertook that there wou'd be a general Rising of the Dissenters. But the *Dutch*, it seems, either did not credit their Advice, or were not prepar'd for such an Enterprize. However, the *busy* Men in *Scotland*, he says, being encourag'd by their Brethren at *Rotterdam*, went about the Country endeavouring to find some Men of Note who would appear at the Head of them, and countenance the intended Insurrection; but not finding any that wou'd listen to them, deferr'd their Purpose till the next Year.

Here our Author introduces a Story of the Duke of *York's* Amours: whereby, he tells us, he impair'd his Constitution, and communicated Diseases to his whole Family. He then resumes the Relation of the *Dutch* War, and tells us that Prince *Rupert* commanded one Part of the Fleet, and *Monk* the other; and that while Prince *Rupert* was gone in Quest of the *French* Squadron, the whole *Dutch* Fleet fell upon *Monk*, and had entirely defeated him, if Prince

Rupert

Rupert had not return'd to his Assistance, when the *Dutch* who had suffer'd much, steer'd off, and a publick Thanksgiving was order'd by the *English* Court for a Victory, which he stiles *a mocking of God, and lying to the World*: And to compleat our Misfortunes, the City of *London* was burnt down the latter end of this Year, he says.

He observes that it is still a great Secret, whether this Fire was casual or design'd: He says, upon the *English* landing at the *Vly*, and burning a *Dutch* Town, *some* offer'd to retaliate the Injury, and set *London* on Fire: And he observes further, that the *April* before, *some Fanaticks* were found in a Plot, and hang'd, who at their Execution confessed they had been spoken to, to assist in a Design of burning *London*, on the second of *September*, which our Author himself read in the *Gazette* of that Week.

'Tis true, he says, the Papists were generally charg'd with it, and one *Hubbard*, a *French* Papist, (Bishop *Kennet* calls him a *French* Hugonot) who was thought to be mad, from the confus'd Account he gave of it, confess'd he begun the Fire, and was executed for it; but what he thinks gives the most Credit to the Charge of the Papists firing of the City, is a Story he had from Dr. *Lloyd* and the Countess of *Clarendon*, who told him, he says, that one *Grant*, a Papist, whom the Countess employ'd in the Water-Works of the *New-River*, went the *Saturday* before the Fire to *Islington*, and turn'd off all the Water, and carried away the Keys with him; so that when the Fire broke out next Morning, there was no Water found in the Pipes, and some Hours were lost in sending to *Islington*, where the Door was to be broke open, and the Cocks turn'd, that it was long before the Water reach'd *London*. But our Author says, he was determin'd in his own Judgment by Sir *Thomas Littleton*, who was one of
the

the Committee of the House of Commons that examin'd all the Presumptions of the City's being fir'd; and he often assur'd him, that there was no clear Presumption made out, and that many Stories which were published with good Assurance came to nothing upon a strict Examination: That the *French* and *Dutch* were concern'd in it, our Author says, he can't suppose, because it fell out at a dead time when no Advantage could be made of it, and it did not seem probable, that the Papists were engaged in the Design, because they had nothing ready then to graft upon the Confusion that this put the People in. The King and the Duke, he says, were almost all Day long a Horseback at the Fire, with the Guards, endeavouring to quench the Flames and save the Peoples Goods; *and the King, he says, was never observ'd to be so much struck with any thing in his whole Life as this*; but the Citizens fancied, he says, that the Duke look'd too gay and unconcern'd, and a Jealousy of his being concerned in it was spread about with great Industry, but with a very little Appearance of Truth.

R E M A R K S.

Our Author himself produces such strong Reasons for the Five Mile Act, that it is surprizing to find him at the same time complaining of the Hardships of it. The Fanatick Preachers, he says, at the time of the Plague, intruded themselves into the Pulpits, where they reflected on the Sins of the Court, and the ill Usage themselves had met with; and to what Purpose was all this, but to give the People ill Impressions of their Governors, and incite an Insurrection, especially when he tells us a little afterwards, that the *Commonwealthsmen*, that is, the *Fanaticks*, press'd the *Dutch* to make a Descent upon
England,

England, and assured them there would be a general Insurrection in their Favour, which is sufficiently evident also from Mr. *Echard's* History of *England*, in Vol. I. p. 823. where these Facts appear too plain to be denied; and now would not some other Governments have hang'd up these Rebellious Teachers instead of forbidding them to come within five Miles of the Places where they used thus to sow their seditious Principles? Let our Author's Friends produce an Instance of any Government that ever dealt more mildly with a People who were openly and constantly practising the Destruction of it, and I shall readily admit the Brethren were hardly dealt with on this Occasion.

As to that foolish Story of King *James's* having contracted an ill Disease, and communicating it to all his Posterity, Dr. *Cockburn* has sufficiently confuted this; and as that Gentleman very well observes, some of his Children are still living and of healthful Constitutions, which makes our Author's principal Observation to carry very little Weight with it; and the World will be apt to conclude from the Doctor's producing Arguments so exceeding weak, that he really wanted better, or we should have heard them.

Our Author resuming the Account of the *Dutch* War, with what Prejudice does he speak of General *Monk*: Indeed he had told us before, that he was become useless, and good for nothing, and not at all consider'd, &c. which he thought would very little agree with that gallant Behaviour of the General in the second Sea Fight, and therefore has done what lay in his Power to conceal or disguise it. The *French*, it seems, had declar'd War against us, and were to have join'd the *Dutch*; whereupon Prince *Rupert* was detach'd with part of the Fleet to the *French* Coast to prevent their Conjunction. In the mean

mean time the whole *Dutch* Fleet came out, consisting of near a hundred Sail; and though the Admiral (*Monk*) had not more than fifty Men of War with him, he determined to engage them. Of this Action, Mr. *Echard* has given us the following Account, p. 830. All agree, says he, that the Duke of *Albemarle*, the *English* Admiral, with his unequal Numbers, most gloriously engaged and fought the whole *Dutch* Fleet for the best part of three Days. The first Day's Fight was managed with great Bravery on both Sides, and with almost equal Advantage: After which, soon in the next Morning calling the Commanders and Captains to a Council of War, he spoke to them after this manner: *Had we fear'd the double Number of the Enemy, we should have fled Yesterday; for though we are inferior to them in Ships, in all things else we are superior: Numbers make them bold and courageous. Let us reflect upon that Fortune and Valour which the Dutch have so often felt to their woful Experience: Let our Adversaries find to Day, that though our Fleet be divided, our Courage is entire; and when we consider our own Glory and ancient Renown, how much more honourable will it be to die revenged upon the Seas, than to be carry'd Prisoners as a Spectacle of Triumph to the Dutch? It is less Disgrace to be overcome, than fly, and Death is to be preferred before Fear.* This was immediately succeeded with the second Day's Fight, which was more terrible and bloody than the former, especially in the Afternoon, so that there were few Ships of either Fleet but sufficiently felt the Effects of it, by the Loss of their Masts, Round-Tops, Sails, and Rigging: And notwithstanding the *Dutch* receiv'd that Day a new Supply of sixteen Ships, both Fleets parted that Night without any apparent Advantage on either Side. In the third Day's fight, the Numbers being still more unequal, the *English* retired to-

wards

wards their own Shore, yet in this the *Valour* and Conduct of their Admiral appeared in full Splendor, for being himself ever in the Rear, he so bravely and warmly receiv'd the Pursuers, and so skilfully covered and protected the weakest of the English Ships, that most of them made a commodious and safe Retreat.

The Duke having thus unequally and bravely fought for three Days, Prince *Rupert* hearing the Noise of the Cannon, came up and join'd him, and so there began a fourth Day's fight, which was continu'd in several Forms and Ways, with incredible Bravery and Resolution.

The *Dutch* having lost about fifteen Ships and five thousand Men retir'd to their Coasts. The *English* lost nine Ships, and had great Numbers killed and wounded: Both Sides, it seems, were sufficiently shatter'd, and both claim'd the Victory, tho' probably neither of them were in a Condition to renew the Engagement; but I question whether any other Nation would not have call'd it a Victory, when they had so bravely driven an Enemy so much superior in Numbers from their Coasts, and made them *steer off*, in our Author's own Words, though he will have it a horrid mocking of God on our Side, while he is perfectly silent as to his Friends the *Dutch*, who gave Thanks too, and had certainly as little Reason.

But who does our Author mock, when he represents this great General the Duke of *Albemarle*, as an inconsiderable worthless Fellow, and appeals to the great God of Truth upon all Occasions, for the Truth of what he says?

As to the firing of the City of *London*, if it was done by Design, it appears much more probable from what our Author relates of that Matter, that it was done by the Fanaticks, than by the Papists; for the *French*, and the *Dutch*, and our *British* Puritans, were

at this time all in a Confederacy against the Government.

Mr. *Echard* speaking of the Plague, p. 823. says, both the *French* and *Dutch* took Advantage from this Calamity, and it seems the Republican Party took Advantage both from that and the present War, and did not only hold Correspondence with the publick Enemy, but some of them went into the actual Service of the *Dutch*, against their own natural Prince and Country. These secret Contrivances have often been denied, yet of late, they sufficiently appear from the Writings of their own Party. *Ludlow* freely informs us, that by means of this *Dutch* War, some of their Friends conceiving great hopes of the Restoration of the Commonwealth, entered into a Treaty with divers principal Ministers of the States, for procuring some Forces to join with their Party in *England* against the common Enemy, the King and Parliament. In the same Paragraph he tells us, that *Ludlow* receiv'd a Letter from Mr. *Say*, then at *Amsterdam*, p. 823. inviting him by many cogent Arguments, to quit *Switzerland*, that he might be instrumental in the Service of his Country. In which Letter he has these Words: *The Ruin of the present Government in England is certainly intended, and I have Cause to believe will certainly be effected, the States being unanimously for this War, and at last brought to see, that their Commonwealth cannot long subsist, if Monarchy continue in England. The King of England is never mention'd without the utmost Contempt, and Writings are every Day published to expose his Person and Government. I am certainly inform'd, that considerable Numbers in England, Scotland, and Ireland, sensible of their present Servitude, will appear for us.* A little above a Week after, as the same Author tells us, he receiv'd another Letter from the same Person, desiring Credit to the Contents of his last, and adding, that the

the Heer *Newport* had at a Conference assured him, That the Intention of the States were to relieve the good People in England: That the Dutch had thirty thousand Men ready to put on Board their Fleet, of which Numbers, ten thousand were Land Soldiers, to be disposed, as they, the Republicans, should direct. That a great Sum of Money should be prepar'd for this Service, and the whole Fleet should be commanded to favour the Enterprize: That if it should be thought necessary to transport Horse into England, they would comply with that also: He therefore earnestly begg'd him to lay aside Prejudices, and, as he lov'd the Cause, to come speedily, and set his Hand and Heart to the Work. That a considerable Man there had enquir'd after him, and given Reason to hope, that if he would come in that Conjuncture, they would place him at the Head of such a Number of Men, as should by the Blessing of God, and the Concurrence of their Friends in England, be sufficient to restore the Commonwealth. He concludes in these Words: "I dare assure you, from the best Information I can get, that on such an Occasion, there would be a greater Appearance for us, than at the beginning of the late War in 1642. Let me therefore not hear from you, but see you;" and p. 831. Mr. *Echard* informs us, that while the King of England was contending and struggling with the open and profess'd Enemies of his Kingdoms, he was this Year, as well as the last, not a little endanger'd by the secret Projects and Correspondencies of the Republican Party, who taking Advantage of the calamitous times, more than ordinarily exerted themselves. *Ludlow* himself freely acknowledges their new Designs this Year, and that a Treaty of the same Nature with that in Holland beforementioned after the Rupture with France, was agreed to be carried on at Paris, where Colonel *Algernon Sydney*, *Ludlow*, and others, were to be lodg-

ed in the House of the *Dutch* Ambassador, to which end they had Letters of safe Conduct from Monsieur *de Lionne*, the *French* King's Secretary, and Passes from Monsieur *d'Estrades*, the Governor of *Dunkirk*. At the same time *Ludlow* had a Letter from *England*, informing him, that the Condition of their Friends there was not contemptible: That they thought no Hazards too great to venture for the Cause, exhorting therefore to lay aside Scruples, and improve that favourable Conjunction to the Advantage of the Commonwealth. He had other Letters about the same time from Colonel *Sydney*, Mr. *Say*, and Colonel *Briscoe*, pressing him to engage in the Undertaking, but the Lord *Fermyn* being then upon a Treaty at *Paris*, *Ludlow* was apprehensive of the Success of his Negotiation: Notwithstanding which, he promis'd, that if the States of *Holland* would by a publick Declaration acknowledge their Error in delivering up their three Friends, *Okey*, &c. he would heartily engage in the Enterprize. He afterwards receiv'd another Letter from *Holland*, subscribed by many Hands, importing, that they had there received such an Account of the Condition of their Friends in *England*, that the States were inclin'd to give them considerable Succours of all things necessary for the Enterprize; and had a second time caus'd a great Body of Land Forces to be shipp'd on board the Fleet, purely on their Account, solemnly protesting, that they had no other Design than to give the good People of *England* a seasonable and effectual Aid. So they, the Subscribers, renewed their most affectionate Desires that he would hasten to them, and not let another Opportunity be lost. He was afterwards desired to command four thousand Landmen put on board the *Dutch* Fleet, which were then commanded by Colonel *Doleman*, and design'd to be landed at a certain Place in *England*, and their Friends

were

were to have timely notice of their Intentions: But after all, *Ludlow* having no Satisfaction in the Points he insisted on, and being apprehensive of a discouraging Peace, declin'd the Service.

As a natural Concatenation with this last Project, says Mr. *Echard*, we may here properly take notice of a more domestick Conspiracy, as it was publish'd by the Government, at the Conclusion of the Month of *April*, as follows: At the Sessions in the *Old-Baily*, *John Rathbone*, an old Army Colonel, *William Sanders*, *Henry Tucker*, *Thomas Flint*, *Thomas Evans*, *John Miles*, *William Westcot*, and *John Cole*, formerly Officers or Soldiers in the late Rebellion, were indicted for conspiring the Death of his Majesty, and the Overthrow of the Government, having laid their Plot and Contrivance for the Surprizal of the *Tower*, the killing his Grace the Lord General *Monk*, Sir *John Robinson* Lieutenant of his Majesty's *Tower* of *London*, and Sir *Richard Brown*, and then to have declar'd for an equal Division of Lands, &c. The better to effect this hellish Design, the *City* was to have been fir'd, and the *Portcullis's* to have been let down to keep out all Assistance, the *Horse Guards* to have been surpriz'd in the *Inns* where they were quarter'd, several *Hostlers* having been gain'd for that Purpose. The *Tower* was accordingly view'd, and its Surprize order'd by *Boats* over the *Mote*, and from thence to scale the *Walls*. One *Alexander*, who is not yet taken, had likewise distributed Sums of Money to these Conspirators; and for the carrying on of the Design more effectually, they were told of a Council of the Great Ones that sat frequently in *London*, from whom issued all Orders; which Council receiv'd their Directions from another in *Holland*, who sat with the States; and that the third of September was pitch'd on for the Attempt,

as being found, by *Lilly's Almanack*, and a Scheme erected for that purpose, to be a lucky Day, a Planet then ruling which prognosticated the Down-fall of Monarchy. The Evidence against these Persons was very full and clear, and they were found guilty of High Treason, and suffer'd accordingly. And *Bishop Burnet himself says*, that the above-said Fanatick Conspirators confess'd at their Execution that they had been dealt with to assist in the firing of London, on the second of September, 1666, as he himself read in the Gazette of that Week; and notwithstanding he tells us that this happen'd at a dead time of the Year, when the Enemy could make no Advantage of it, *Mr. Echard* observes that the French and Dutch Fleets were never so near a Conjunction as at this Instant; so that I think, considering the strong Presumptions against them, the Dissenters will do well to clear themselves of firing the City, before they charge it upon the Papists. Nor can it be suppos'd, that those that would join both Dutch Presbyterians and French Papists, against their own Country, would stick at any other means to promote their Cause. As to that which is call'd the strongest Presumption against the Papists, namely, *Dr. Grant's* turning the Water off at *Islington*, and carrying away the Keys, I am credibly inform'd that *Dr. Grant* was not concern'd in those Water-works till after the Fire of London was over: But whether *Dr. Loyd* or *Dr. Burnet* fram'd this plausible Story, I shan't take upon me to determine.

ABRIDGMENT.

In Scotland, our Author says, *Turner* who commanded the Guards was sent into the West again this Year,

Year, and treated the Country after the old Rate; and the People finding themselves undone, and being excited to Rebellion by their Fanatick Teachers, had again Recourse to Arms. The People were told, our Author says, that the Fire of *London* had put the Court in such Confusion that they should be able to carry all before them, and that the whole Nation was dispos'd to rise: Whereupon they assembled on the 13th of *November*, and surpriz'd *Turner*, who commanded the Guards, having but few Soldiers with him: They seiz'd also the Treasure he had in his Hands, with his Papers and Instructions; by which they found he had acted more gently than his Orders requir'd. Many, he says, resorted to the Rebels; who about that time came to be call'd *Whiggs*. *Dalziel* assembled the rest of the King's Troops, and follow'd the Rebels close at their Heels, who came within two Miles of *Edinburgh*; but finding neither Town or Country declare for them, several of them lost Heart and went Home; and from two thousand, they soon dwindled to eight or nine hundred, who thought to have march'd back to their own Country, by *Pentland-Hills*; but on the 28th of *November*, about an Hour before Sun-set, *Dalziel* came up with them, and they posted themselves upon the Top of a Hill, their Preachers doing all they cou'd, by praying and preaching, to inspire them with Courage; they sung the 74th and 78th *Psalms*, and receiv'd the Charge of the King's Troops very resolutely, he says, but were soon put into Disorder, about forty of them being kill'd, and an hundred and thirty taken: They were a poor *harmless* Company of People, our Author tells us, become mad by Oppression, and had taken nothing during all the time they were together, but what had been freely given

P p 4

them

them by the Country People: Tho' a little before, p. 233. he says they seiz'd the King's Treasure which *Turner* had in his Hands.

When the Prisoners were brought to *Edinburgh*, *Wishart* the Bishop of that City, and many other Bishops, upon this Occasion express'd a very Christian Temper, by sending every Day very liberal Supplies to the Prisoners; as did the Citizens in general; insomuch that they were in greater Danger by their Plenty, than they had been in the Field. But *Sharpe*, he says, would not be mollify'd, but procur'd Evidence against the Prisoners; ten of whom were hang'd at *Edinburgh*, and thirty five more in their several Countries, their Ministers declaring they would be damn'd for their Rebellion, for they might all have sav'd their Lives if they would have renounc'd the Covenant; but they chose to die Martyrs to it, and express'd great Joy in their Sufferings. *Guthery*, the chief of their Preachers and Incendiaries, was hid, our Author says, in his Mother's House, who was of the same Principles with her Brother *Waristoun*, and could never be mov'd to forsake them. *Maccail*, a Probationer for the Ministry, was put to the Torture of the Boots, he says, but would never discover any of his Accomplices, and dy'd in a Rapture of Joy, which mov'd all that were present at his Execution.

Burnet, Archbishop of *Glasgow*, he says, brought a Letter from Court to stay any farther Executions; which he kept conceal'd till this Man was hang'd, and his Blood was thereupon laid at his Door: And by this cruel Behaviour of the Clergy, he says, the Country was more than ever exasperated against the Church. *Dalziel*, he says, was order'd to lie in the *West*, and quarter his Soldiers on those who had assisted the Rebels; and he murder'd some in cold Blood,

Blood, without any Forms of Law, and became so terrible at length in that Part of the Country, that he brought all the disaffected to Church. The Clergy, he says, never interceded for any Compassion towards their People, but look'd on the Soldiery as their Patrons; and did not only comply with them, but led them into all Excesses. And they were said to be arriv'd at such a Pitch of Vice, as he thinks was scarce credible; but the King's Affairs in *England* compell'd him, he observes, to put the Government into milder Hands; and *Sharpe* was order'd to remain in his Diocese, and come no more to *Edinburgh*; and he shew'd himself as abject under this Disgrace, as he was insolent before.

R E M A R K S.

How does our Author here become an Advocate for the *Scotish* Rebels! He does not only disguise and extenuate their treasonable Practices, but ascribes their Disaffection wholly to the Oppression and Hardships they suffer'd from the Government; nay, seems to urge it as an Excuse for their Rebellion, that the Kingdom was now labouring under the Calamities of War, Plague and Fire; which gave them great Hopes of Success, and therefore they were the less to blame. Success, he seems to think, would sanctify the blackest Crimes!

But surely it will be difficult, from the Accounts we have receiv'd of this Insurrection, to believe that Generation altogether so *harmless*, or so little to be fear'd by the Government, as our Author would insinuate: According to Dr. *Kennet* and Mr. *Echard*, they were fifteen hundred Men when they engag'd the King's Troops at *Pentland-Hills*, and were led by the most furious of the Fanatick Preachers:
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Many resorted to them, our Author acknowledges; and the Country was so well affected towards them that *Dalziel*, who commanded the King's Forces, could get no Intelligence of their Motions. Great Numbers of Gentlemen, to the Number of four-score, he says, were assembled in order to join them at the time of their Defeat; and *Argyle* had assembled one thousand five hundred more, of whom the Administration were very jealous, and who, very probably, had join'd them, if they had not met with that Misfortune: But still we are told, they were *a poor harmless Company of Men, become mad by Oppression*; and that the Government was guilty of the greatest Cruelty in causing thirty or forty of them to be executed. But how came our Author, in the midst of his Satire, to mention that Instance of the Compassion and Humanity of the Episcopal Clergy, in relieving these very Prisoners, when he but a little after charges the Clergy with so much Cruelty and Barbarity towards them? This is very unaccountable; but, as has been observ'd already, the Force of Truth will sometimes prevail, notwithstanding his utmost Endeavours to stifle it.

And what will the World think, when they read what our Author himself has wrote of this *innocent harmless People*, in his four Conferences, p. 290? *How many of the Ministers, (the Episcopal Ministers) says he there, have been invaded in their Houses, their Houses rifled, their Goods carried away, themselves cruelly beaten and wounded, and often made to swear to abandon their Churches; and that they would not so much as complain of such bad Usage to those in Authority? Their Wives also escap'd not the Fury of these accursed Zealots, but were beaten and wounded, some of them being scarce recover'd out of their Labour in Child-birth. Believe me, these barbarous Outrages have been such, that worse could not have been apprehended*
from

from Heathens. And if after these I should recount the Railings, Scoffings and Floutings which the conformable Ministers meet with to their Faces, even on Streets and publick Highways (not to mention the Contempt is pour'd on them more privately) I would be look'd on as a Forger of extravagant Stories; but it is well I am talking to Men who know them as well as myself: From these things I may well assume that the Persecution lies mainly on the Conformists Side, who for their Obedience to the Laws lie thus open to the Fury of their Enemies. This is our Author's own Account of this harmless innocent People.

And is it not sufficiently evident also, that these Saints were in a Conspiracy with their Brethren of Rotterdam and of England, and in a Confederacy with the Dutch, and even with the French Papists, to promote an Invasion and Rebellion, and make their native Country a Scene of Blood and Desolation; and this at a time when the Plague was raging amongst us, when we were engag'd in War with three potent Enemies, the Dutch, the French, and the Danes; and when the Metropolis of the three Kingdoms lay in Ashes? If these Circumstances were not a high Aggravation of their Sedition and Rebellion, and these hardned Rebels could by any Figure be term'd a poor harmless Company of Men, notwithstanding the Endeavours of our Author to cast a Mist before our Eyes, I appeal to all Mankind: And surely nothing but a very strong Propensity in our Author to the Good Old Cause, could have induc'd him to declare so strenuously in Favour of the Sons of Anarchy. He seems to have drunk in with his Mother's Milk a Fondness for Sedition, and an implacable Enmity to Monarchy and Episcopacy, however the Wolf came afterwards to put on Shepherd's Clothing, and accept the Pastoral Staff.

The Lord *Rothes*, the Bishop tells us, was turn'd out of the Treasury, but was continued Lord Chancellor: *He and his Crew were perpetually drunk*; but now a more sober Ministry was constituted in *Scotland*, and even *Sharpe* grew meek and humble, he says, and told our Author he thought it a great Happiness to deal with sober serious Men.

Instead of requiring the Disaffected to renounce the Covenant, a Bond was only now requir'd of them that they should keep the Peace, and not rise in Arms; and some of the Saints scrupled even this, for they said it might be pretended *that the obeying all the Laws was imply'd in it*. *Sharpe* was brought again to the Council-board, he says, and begun to talk with Moderation, and even said that it was better to expose the Bishops to whatever might happen, than to have the Kingdom govern'd by a standing Army for their Sakes; yet in private he studied to possess the People with Prejudices against the present Administration, as being *Enemies to the Church*. However, the Army was disbanded, and so the Lord *Rothes's* Commission as General determin'd, which had lasted three Years.

Our Author next observes a great Change in the Lord *Lauderdale's* Life, occasion'd by his marrying the Lady *Dysert*. All Applications were made to her: She sold all Places, and lavished away the Money most profusely, and made the Lord *Lauderdale* fall out with all his Friends, particularly *Argyle, Twedale, Kincairdin, Hamilton, Athol, Sir Robert Murray*, and with our Author himself.

While *Twedale* and *Sir Robert Murray* were in the Administration, Business was minded, no Vice was in Reputation, Justice was duly administred, and a
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Commission sent to the Western Counties to examine into the unjust and illegal Oppressions of *Turner* and *Dalziel*, &c. who had commanded the King's Forces in those Parts. Sir *Robert Murray* having also visited the West of *Scotland*, told our Author, when he came back, that he found the Clergy so ignorant and scandalous, that it was not possible to support them, but by turning out the greatest part of them; and he thought it would be difficult to find Proofs against them, the Clergy being so link'd together, that none of them would be Witnesses against their Brethren, and the People would not accuse them before the Bishop, because that would be acknowledging his Authority; therefore *Murray* proposed the constituting Commissioners composed of Laymen as well as Clergymen, to enquire into the scandalous Reports that were rais'd of the Clergy. *Sheldon* approv'd of this Method, he says, and *Sharpe* also seem'd pleas'd with it, but abhorr'd it in his Heart, as striking at the Root of the Bishop's Authority. *Burnet*, their Diocesan, said, this was a declaring him incapable of judging his Clergy, and the Clergy alledg'd, that this was a delivering them up to the Rage of their Enemies, who hated them only for the Sake of their Functions, and their Obedience to the Laws, and would be ready to swear any thing against them. He adds, that the Presbyterians observing a Relaxation of the Laws, grew very insolent, and in many Places used the Clergy ill, who despair'd now of the Protection of the Government, and saw Designs forming against them to turn them all out. Whereupon many of them went over into *Ireland*, and the Lord *Twedale* endeavour'd to bring in a Set of Ministers of another Stamp, and to set *Leighroun* at the Head of them, whom he magnify'd highly to the King, as much the greatest Men of the *Scotish* Clergy. *Leighroun* accordingly went to
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London, and had two Audiences of the King, and laid before him; our Author says, *the Madness of the former Administration of Church Affairs*, and the necessity of more moderate Counsels; and in particular, propos'd a *Comprehension* of the Presbyterians by altering the Laws in their Favour.

R E M A R K S.

Our Author seems to rejoice much at the Change of the Ministry in Scotland; for Lord Rothes and his Crew, that is, the late Ministers of State, were *perpetually drunk*, he says; with such Language the Reader will observe our Author *perpetually* treats his Superiors that are not of his own Clan.

But though the new Ministry were so very moderate, that they did not so much as require the Saints to renounce the Covenant, but were content with a Bond to keep the Peace; yet so very scrupulous or obstinate were this Set of Men, that many of them refused to comply with the Government even in this.

To proceed: No Vice was in Reputation now, we are told, *Justice was duly administred, &c.* from which Remark of our Author, the Reader would not have been at a Loss to have discover'd, that the Presbyterians had now the chief Direction of Affairs, if he had not oblig'd us with their Names. The Lord Lauderdale had ever since Earl Middleton's Disgrace, placed and displaced the Ministers as he saw fit, according to our Author; and for a time, the better to establish his Interest in the Court of England, we are inform'd, he was contented Archbishop Sharpe, Lord Rothes, and others, who were well affected to the Church, should fill the principal Posts; but our Author assures us, Lord Lauderdale had always the Interest of the Presbyterians at Heart, however he might for
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some time pretend otherwise; and accordingly we find Dr. *Sharpe* often complaining, that the Interest of the Fanaticks was supported by Earl *Lauderdale's* Friends, even when he pretended to favour the establish'd Church. But at this blessed time, when we are told *Scotland* was so well govern'd, Lord *Lauderdale*, it seems, had put the Government of that Kingdom into the Hands of professed Presbyterians, such as Lord *Tweedale*, *Kincairdin*, &c. and therefore it was no wonder to hear such fine things said of the Administration; and I believe no Episcopal Man will wonder to find these moderate Gentlemen complaining of the scandalous Lives of the Episcopal Clergy: And the Method our Author makes Sir *Robert Murray* propose for supporting the Episcopal Clergy, namely, by turning the greatest part of them out of their Livings, is surely such an Expedient to serve them, as was never hit upon before, since Episcopacy was established.

But we are told, that notwithstanding all this Clamour concerning the profligate Lives of the Clergy, no Proof could be found to convict them; for the Clergy were so link'd together, that none of them would be Witnesses against their Brethren; and the People would not testify against them, because they should thereby acknowledge the Bishop's Jurisdiction. In the first place I can't but observe, that the Clergy were much happier in *Scotland* than in most other Kingdoms, if it be true, that there was not one false Brother amongst them ready to expose and betray his own Order to the Scorn and Malice of their Enemies. In the next place, this pretence of want of Proof to me seems a mere Sham, and to be insisted on only to give some Colour to that Project of appointing Commissioners, compos'd of the most inveterate Enemies the Clergy had, to be Judges of their Actions; for were the Crimes he charges the Clergy with

with so flagrant and notorious as he suggests, it is impossible there could have wanted Witnesses of them. He says, they did not only comply with the Soldiers in their Vices, but led them on, and encouraged them in their Debauchery; insomuch, that the Soldiery abhor'd and contemn'd them for being more wicked than themselves; and then surely there could have been no great difficulty to have found Witnesses against them, even among the Soldiers, if that was true: Besides, the Vices that the Soldiers are generally charged with, are such as Drinking, Swearing, and Whoring; now these are Crimes that come under the Cognizance of the Civil Magistrate, and are punishable by him in most Countries; and therefore the People might have given Evidence of these Crimes, and had them punish'd, without acknowledging any Ecclesiastical Authority; but there was manifestly a further Design in representing the Clergy to be so very vile and scandalous, namely, that the Saints might have some Colour for using them so very barbarously, and to compel them to fly their Country to make Room for the Rebel Preachers who had been turned out for their Practices against the Government. Our Author in this very Place acquaints us, that the Presbyterians observing a Relaxation of the Laws, under this Whiggish Administration, grew exceeding insolent, abus'd the Episcopal Clergy, and forc'd them to abandon their Cures, and fly into *Ireland*; *and yet never was Justice more impartially administred*, he tells us; possibly he would have term'd it a Piece of Justice, if they had knock'd all the Episcopal Ministers on the Head; for he says in his four Conferences, that many of the Ministers were invaded in their Houses, their Houses rifled, their Goods carried away, themselves cruelly beaten and wounded, and often made to swear to abandon their Churches,

Churches, and that they would not so much as complain of this bad Usage to those in Authority, and that the Persecution lay mainly on the Conformists Side: Now he that could admire the Justice of the Administration when these things were suffered, if not encouraged, it is to be presum'd, would have been glad to have seen Episcopacy extirpated Root and Branch, and the Members of that Church entirely destroy'd.

The Presbyterian Lord Tweedale, our Author adds, endeavour'd to bring in a Set of Ministers of *another Stamp* upon the violent and illegal Exclusion of the Episcopal Ministers: Now what are we to understand by *Men of another Stamp*? they must be Episcopal in Appearance, till the Laws were altered; but no doubt, if they were to be introduc'd by a Presbyterian, they were to be Presbyterians in *Heart* though not in *Habit*, to use an Expression our Author has father'd on Dr. Sharpe.

But let us consider a little the Method so much applauded of appointing Commissioners by the Civil Power, compos'd partly of Laymen, exclusive of the Bishop of the Diocese, to enquire into the Lives of the Clergy, and these Commissioners nominated by their most implacable Enemies the Presbyterians. Well might our Author observe, that the Clergy now expected no further Protection from the Government, but chose to fly beyond Sea rather than remain among a Rabble of fiery Zealots let loose to rob and plunder them without Restraint. If they suffer'd such Abuses from the Western Rebels, when the Civil Power pretended to protect them, as our Author himself has recorded, what must they have expected, when the Magistrate join'd with that furious Mob to distress them? But *these were the happy Times when Vice was discouraged, and Justice was duly administred.*

But further, what would the most moderate Bishop of this Church (and surely we never abounded more with Men of Moderation) think, to have such a Set of Commissioners sent into his Diocese to judge his Clergy and deprive him of his whole Ecclesiastical Authority, and them of their Freeholds? Surely there would not be found a Man tame enough of that Order, not to resent such Usage, even among our present meek and passive Fathers. Well, but we are told further, that a Comprehension of the Presbyterians was also propos'd by this moderate Ministry; but what sort of a Comprehension was it to be? Why the Laws for the Establishment of the Church were to be repeal'd or alter'd in their Favour, and the Episcopal Authority entirely depress'd, and this is what might really have been expected from avow'd Presbyterians; the Church was to give up all her Right, and in effect, establish Presbytery by a Law; for it appears a little after, that the Bishops were to retain little more than the Name of Bishops.

And now if our Author has not sufficiently demonstrated himself to be a Presbyterian in *Heart*, though not in *Habit*, let the impartial World judge: Nor will any Man hereafter surely wonder to find all the Lies and Calumnies forg'd by the Presbyterians of the Sons of Episcopacy, collected and published to the World in this posthumous Work; and had our Author not forgot himself sometimes, and discover'd the Weakness of the Brethren, we should have soon seen this precious Collection of Calumny and Slander preferr'd to the Bible it self by that censorious Sect.

ABRIDGMENT.

The King having lost the People's Affections, our Author says, by the Mismanagements of the
Dutch

Dutch War, endeavour'd to recover them by a Relaxation of the Laws in force against the Dissenters ; but the Commons still continued their Fierceness and Aversion to Moderation. The Business of *Chatham*, he says, was a terrible Blow, and though the Loss was great, the Infamy was greater. The Parliament had given five Millions towards the War, which was squander'd away in Luxury, so that the King could neither fit out a Fleet, nor defend his Coasts. The King did not go down to *Chatham* himself, he says, when the *Dutch* Fleet was in the River, or appear at the Head of his People in this imminent Danger, but sent down the Duke of *Albemarle*, and intended to retire to *Windsor*, but was prevail'd on by some to stay ; and it was given out, that he was very merry that Night at Supper with his Mistresses, and was compar'd to *Nero*, who sung when *Rome* was burning. Indeed a Day or two afterwards, he rode through *London* with the most popular Ministers of State, and assur'd the People, he would live and die with them, which occasion'd some Acclamations ; but the Matter went heavily, the City was still in Ashes, and the King himself suspected of burning it. The Court was at a Loss what to do upon the *Dutch* Fleet appearing in the River, for the *French* had assured them, that the Treaty of Peace was upon the Point of being finish'd ; and he seems to insinuate, that the *French* put the *Dutch* upon the *Chatham* Enterprize, to weaken the *English* Fleet, and alienate the King from the *Dutch*.

The Peace being concluded, the King was sensible with what Disadvantage he was like to meet the Parliament, and projected the sacrificing the Earl of *Clarendon* to their Resentment, and to cast all the Odium of the publick Miscarriages upon that Minister, we are told ; and what induced him the more readily to take these Measures, was the Discovery he

had made of the Earl of *Clarendon*'s discouraging the Commons from settling a larger Revenue on the Crown ; and because he was weary of that Lord's imperious way of prescribing to him ; and yet he thinks the King had not cast him off, if he had not thwarted him in his Amour with Mrs. *Steward*. This Lady, he suggests, the King had thoughts of marrying, but the Duke of *Richmond* making Court to her at the same time, the Earl of *Clarendon* made up the Match without the King's Knowledge, that there might be no Possibility of preventing the Crown descending upon his own Children : Whether there is any real Ground for this or not, our Author says the King suspected it, and thereupon determined to remove the Lord *Clarendon* ; and the King told the Lord *Lauderdale*, he had talked over the Matter with *Sheldon*, and he had convinc'd him that it was necessary to remove that Lord ; but the King acquainting *Sheldon* with it as soon as it was done, the Archbishop, instead of shewing any Approbation of the Thing, said, *Sir, I wish you would put away this Woman that you keep* ; whereupon the King answer'd, why did he not mention that Matter sooner, but took this Occasion to speak of it ? And that the King and *Sheldon* went into such Expostulations about it, that *Sheldon* could never after recover the King's Favour. The Seals were given to Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, and the Bishops all declaring for Lord *Clarendon*, except one or two, the Keeper and the new Ministry were inclin'd to favour the Dissenters ; and the Duke of *Buckingham*, who now came into Play again, set up for a Patron of Liberty of Conscience, and of the Sectaries, and the King seem'd heartily to espouse Moderation and Comprehension, in order to recover the Affections of his People ; for the Church of *England* being gone off from him, he thought it necessary to court the Sec-

taries :

tares: He also begun to concern himself in the Affairs of *Europe*, and brought about the Peace between *Castile* and *Portugal*, and enter'd into the tripple Alliance, which he stiles the Master-piece of King *Charles's* Life; and if he had stuck to it, our Author thinks, it would have been the Strength and Glory of his Reign; this reconcil'd the People to him, he says, and restor'd his Majesty to their Confidence.

Here our Author proceeds to give us an Account of the Impeachment of the Earl of *Clarendon* upon the opening of the Parliament, *Anno* 1667, but refers us to other Histories for the Particulars: He says the King was so sharpen'd against him, that tho' he nam'd no particular Reason for his Resentment, he express'd a violent and irreconcilable Aversion to him: And yet he tells us in the next Page, that those who knew the King best, told him that all the Indignation that appear'd in him *was founded on no Reason at all*, but was the Effect of that Easiness which made him comply with every Person that had Credit with him; and that the Mistress and the Bed-chamber perpetually railing at this Minister, possess'd the King with this ill Opinion of him, and observes, that Princes are so little sensible of any Services that are done them, that they will sacrifice their best Servants, not only to Interests of State, but to gratify a Mistress, or a new Favourite. Here our Author takes an Opportunity of giving us the Characters of the Earl of *Clarendon's* two Sons, the late Earl of *Clarendon*, and the Earl of *Rocheſter*, not much to their Advantage, and probably not more justly than he has done many others; but I shall leave it to their noble Relations to rescue them from the Aspersions cast on them by this Author, if it be thought that any thing which falls from so scurrilous a Pen can affect their Characters.

The King, our Author says, was highly offended with the Bishops for adhering to the Lord *Clarendon*, and upon some Complaints that were made of Conventicles, and Disorders that had been committed, he said the Clergy were the principal Occasion of them; for if they had liv'd regularly, and been diligent in their Parishes, in convincing the Nonconformists of their Errors, the Nation might have been well settled by that time; but they thought of nothing but getting Preferment, and living luxuriously, and expected his Majesty should do every thing. Our Author says he was struck to hear a Prince of his loose Life so disgusted at the Ambition, Covetousness, and scandalous Lives of the Clergy; and he told our Author, when he was in private with him, that if the Clergy had done their Parts, the Nonconformists might have easily been run down, for he had an honest Blockhead of a Chaplain, who had a Living in *Suffolk*, where there were many Dissenters, and what such a silly Fellow could say to them, he could not imagine; but going about among them from House to House, he believ'd his Nonsense suited their Nonsense, for he brought them all to Church; and his Majesty gave him an *Irish* Bishoprick for his Reward.

A Comprehension, our Author says, was now again set on foot by the Lord Keeper *Bridgman*, and Bishop *Wilkins*, whereupon all Lord *Clarendon*'s Friends cry'd out, the Church was undermin'd and betray'd; and many Books were writ, exposing the Presbyterians as Men whose Principles tended to *Antinomianism*, and which would soon carry them into a Dissolution of Morals, under a Pretence of being justify'd by Faith without Works; and even the Treatise call'd, *The friendly Debate*, he says, had an ill Effect in sharpening Mens Spirits against them: But the most virulent Writer against the Sectaries, he

he says, was *Parker*, afterwards Bishop of *Oxford*, a Man full of satyrical Vivacity, and learned, but of no Judgment, and as little Virtue, and *rather Impious than Religious*; but he was at last attack'd by the Droll of the Age, in a burlesque Strain, which not only humbled him, but his whole Party. *The Author of the Rehearsal* transpos'd, had all the Men of Wit on his Side; but whatever Advantages the Men of Comprehension might have, the House of Commons were so much against them, it seems, that it was voted, No Bill of that nature should be receiv'd.

R E M A R K S.

The Infamy of losing our Ships at *Chatham*, our Author thinks, was greater than the Loss itself: But surely, if it was, the Saints deserve much the largest Share of that Infamy; for the *Dutch* durst never have attempted sailing up that River, if they had not been encourag'd, and even piloted up the *Medway* by *English* Fanatick Pilots. But after all, what mighty Matter was there in the *Chatham* Business? We lost four or five Men of War; nor did the *Dutch* escape without the Loss of some, which were run a-ground and fir'd by themselves: And tho' the *Dutch* met with some Success here, we find they were disappointed at *Portsmouth*, *Plymouth*, and all other Places.

But as to the ill Conduct, or even ill Success of this War in general, which our Author so loudly clamours at, except this trifling Success the *Dutch* met with at *Chatham*, nothing in our History appears more glorious to the *English* Nation. However King *Charles* and that Administration have been maliciously traduc'd on this Account. I don't find that ever our Naval Power appear'd so formidable or so well ma-

mag'd, either before or since, if we take but a cursory View of the several Battles that were fought, the great Confederacy form'd against us, those dismal Calamities of the Plague and Fire of *London*, the Treachery of the *English* Fanatics, and the Rebellion of the *Scots*, which happen'd at the same time.

In the first Battle, as has been observ'd already, the *English* were acknowledg'd by all to be victorious; they took eighteen Capital Men of War from the *Dutch*, and sunk and fir'd fourteen more, with the Loss but of one *English* Ship; the *Dutch* also were computed to have eight thousand Men kill'd or taken, and the *English* not one thousand.

In the second Battle, half our Fleet fought the whole *Dutch* Fleet for three Days, and when the Remainder of the *English* Fleet came up, the *Dutch*, in our Author's Language, *steer'd away* to their own Coast; so that here they had but very little Occasion to boast: And I don't remember to have read in History, that ever a Fleet of Men of War engag'd another of double the Force so many Days together to so little Disadvantage; and tho' the *French* did not actually join the *Dutch*, yet there was this Disadvantage to us in their being in a Confederacy with them, that we were forc'd to divide our Navy to prevent a Conjunction, when otherwise our whole Force might have been employ'd against the *Dutch*.

In the third and last Battle, the *Dutch* fled before us, and, according to Mr. *Echard*, were forc'd to yield to the *English* the so much contested Empire of the Sea; four of their Admirals were kill'd, above twenty Men of War destroy'd, seven thousand common Seamen kill'd and wounded; and were chas'd by the *English* Fleet along the Coast of *Zealand* and *Holland*, till they came to the *Flats*, where the

the *English* Grand Fleet could not follow them; but Sir Robert Holmes was detach'd with a Squadron to the *Vly*, near the Mouth of the *Texel*, where he made a Descent, burnt two *Dutch* Men of War, one hundred and fifty large Merchant Ships, some of them *East-India* Men richly laden, and burnt the Town of *Bandaris*, containing about one thousand Houses, giving the Plunder to his Soldiers; and Mr. *Echard* assures us, from a Manuscript in the Secretary's Office, the Loss the *Dutch* sustain'd here amounted to, at least, ten hundred thousand Pounds Sterling: And 'tis observable that this Victory and Descent was after the time when our judicious Author observes, *there was not one good Step taken during the Continuance of the War*. The *Dutch* indeed appear'd again upon the Sea, in hopes to have join'd the *French*, and reveng'd their Losses; and having pass'd by *Dover* the 1st of *September*, 1666. the *English* Fleet under the Command of Prince *Rupert* steer'd after them to *Boulogne* Road; but they were so much afraid of the *English* that they haul'd up their Vessels close to the Shore, where they had been all burnt or destroy'd, if a sudden Storm had not arisen, and oblig'd the Prince to stand out to Sea: However, he prevented the *French* joining them, which they attempted several times; and the *Ruby*, a *French* Ship of a thousand Tuns, was taken, endeavouring it, by the *English*; whereupon the *Dutch* finding their Conjunction impracticable, stole home to their own Harbours.

Upon the Return home of the *Dutch* Fleet so ingloriously, and the Losses the Merchants had sustain'd, the People mutiny'd in *Holland*, and five of the seven Provinces cry'd out for Peace, and declar'd they could no longer contribute to the Charges of the War; and, had they not been buoy'd up by the *French*, would have submitted to any Terms:
And

And thus far every Man, who is not a Disciple of Dr. *Burnet*, must allow, never any War at Sea was better conducted, or Battles better fought by the *English*; and this was then the Sense of all but the disaffected in the Nation. We find the Houses of Parliament returning his Majesty their hearty Thanks for his great Care in the Management of the present War; and the House of Lords, on the 25th of *September*, 1666, attended his Majesty in a Body at the Banqueting-house, to assure him of their hearty Concurrence with the Commons, in supplying his Majesty with whatever was necessary for carrying on the War. The Commons also resolv'd, *that the Thanks of that House should be given his Majesty for his great Care and Endeavour to prevent the burning of the City of London*. And yet this is the Prince who, our Author says, was compar'd to *Nero*, who sung while *Rome* was in Flames; which is indeed very suitable to some other Fanatick Comparisons.

And I cannot here but animadvert once again upon what this good Bishop says, to take off the Probability that the *Dutch* or the *French* or the *English* Fanaticks were concern'd in the Fire of *London*; namely, that the Enemy could have made no Advantage of the Confusion that happen'd there, and therefore could not be suppos'd to lay the Design. Now it appears that this was the time when the *French* and *Dutch* Fleets us'd their utmost Endeavours to join, and were very near effecting of it, but were prevented by the good Conduct of Prince *Rupert*. It was also at this time that the Rebellion happen'd in *Scotland*, and a Conspiracy had been discover'd in *England* to make an Insurrection at the very time the Fire happen'd; and the Conspirators confess'd at their Execution that the firing the City was part of the Plot. It is said further, that the *Dutch* were provok'd to it by our firing the Town
upon

upon their Coast, and their Shipping the last Year, by Sir Robert Holmes. Let us lay all these Particulars together, and see if it does not amount almost to a Demonstration, that the Enemy and our domestick Conspirators had some Concern in it; at least, that those Circumstances must entirely take off what our Author urges against the Probability of their being concern'd in it; viz. *That they could reap no Advantage by it.* And if our *English* Fanaticks did not actually fire it, they conspir'd to set the City on fire at that very time, is evident from the Confession of some of the Conspirators themselves at their Execution, who were convicted also, our Historians tell us, *upon very clear Testimony*: Nor is it to be suppos'd, that those who would, and actually did join the Enemies of their Country in destroying part of the Royal Navy, would have scrupled burning the City. And as to that Misfortune at *Chatham*, give me leave to observe farther, before I leave this Head, that it is not to be imputed altogether to ill Conduct, as our Author would have it; the *Dutch* had been so heartily beaten that they seem'd to decline coming to a general Engagement again with us at Sea: Whereupon it was advis'd rather to fit out light Squadrons, and to fall upon their Merchant Ships, and annoy them in their Trade, as a more effectual Way to make them weary of the War, than to fit out the Grand Fleet. Which the *Dutch* observing, and finding it necessary to undertake some hardy Enterprize to keep up the Spirits of their People, who were ripe for an Insurrection, were persuaded by the *British* Saints amongst them, who undertook to be their Pilots to enter upon this Design, which at last hardly answer'd the Expence they were at, and made more Noise than it did real Damage.

But

But farther, at this Time a Peace was upon the very Point of being concluded, and several Acts of Hostility were committed by the *Dutch* upon the Coast, even after it was sign'd, which, according to their usual Sincerity, they pretended to be ignorant of: And tho' it will not entirely excuse the *English* not being better prepar'd to receive the *Dutch* upon this Occasion; yet when our Court was satisfy'd all the material Articles were agreed, and wanted only some Matters of Form to put the finishing Stroke to the Treaty, this will surely much extenuate the Oversight that was committed, if it was one; tho' had some little Posts been fortify'd as was directed, but neglected by some unfaithful Agents, possibly in the Enemy's Interest, there had been no Occasion for the least Murmur. And I can't but observe again, our Author's Ingenuity here, that because the Grand Fleet was not fitted out this Year, therefore he infers, that all the Money given for the War was squander'd away upon Whores; when he himself acknowledges so many great Fleets set out before, and so many Victories obtain'd: But these were not worth the naming, according to him; *there was not one good Step taken in the War, after the first Sea-Fight.*

Another Observation every one must make also upon this Occasion; namely, that General *Monk* (the Duke of *Albemarle*) whom our Author has represented as so very useless and inconsiderable, was the Man, of all others, thought proper to be sent down to *Chatham* to oppose the *Dutch*, when the Town was in that Consternation: And let any one consider his Conduct in that Affair, as it is represented in Mr. *Echard's* History of *England*, p. 838. and he must acknowledge that his Grace shew'd himself a brave and skilful Commander, and acted suitable to the Character the World had entertain'd of him:

Nor

Nor will the poisonous Breath of this Son of Detraction ever be able to blast his Fame.

I shall close this Head with observing, that notwithstanding *Cromwell's* Conduct in his Wars with the *Dutch* is applauded so much beyond any thing transacted in this Reign, all Circumstances consider'd, this War was much more glorious to the *English* Arms, than that in *Cromwell's* Usupation; for the *Dutch* were now supported by the *French* and the *Dane*, when in *Oliver's* time they had no Ally. The Plague now wasted the Kingdom, the Wealth of *London* was consumed in that fatal Fire, and numerous Conspiracies and Insurrections disturb'd the State; and notwithstanding all these Difficulties, were the *Dutch* so miserably shatter'd, that they durst not meet our grand Fleet upon the Sea, nor did they gain one Victory during the whole War. In three Battels they seem to be as much dishearten'd as they were by seven in the Days of *Cromwell*; and had not the Nation been afflicted by those other Calamities, and endanger'd by the Treachery of the Saints, the *Dutch* had been glad to have made Satisfaction for all their Depredations, and have sued for Peace in more abject Terms than they are said to do in *Oliver's* Days. But we have a Set of Men amongst us, who most extravagantly cry up every Action perform'd under a Usurper, and as much decry those perform'd in the Reign of a lawful Prince. Some perhaps, ignorantly and foolishly enough, before they give themselves time to enquire into the Truth of Things, are wrought upon by that Confidence and Assurance, with which the Brethren report every thing that conduces to the Interest of their Party, true or false.

But should it be admitted, that the Naval Power of *England* was more formidable in that Usurper's time than afterwards, it need not be much wonder'd

at, when he was Master of the Purfes of the whole Kingdom, arbitrarily rais'd Money as he faw fit, and was under no Reftraint of Law. And as the *Frenchman* in magnifying his grand Monarch, faid, he could fend for any Man's Head when he pleas'd: Whoever is fond of fuch a Tyranny, and would fee the Nation victorious at the Expence of their own Liberties and Properties, let them continue to applaud thofe bleffed Days, and flight that Liberty, Wealth, and Plenty, that were fo conspicuous in the Reign of King *Charles II.* when all ufeul Improvements were encouraged, liberal Arts flourish'd, and a Spirit of Hofpitality and Benevolence fpread itfelf over the whole Face of the Kingdom. That Traitors and Rebels, or their Pofterity, fhould admire the Days of Ufurpation, is not to be wonder'd at, when Regicides and Rebels fatten'd on the Spoils of honeft Men, when they kill'd and violently took Poffeffion of the Eftates of thofe Loyal Subjects who had been faithful to their Prince: No wonder to fee fuch Men concern'd, that the King and his Subjects were reftor'd to their Rights, and the Laws duly adminiftred again, for *never were fuch glorious times of Plunder and Sequestration fince Oliver went off the Stage.* But that Gentlemen whole Anceftors fuffer'd by the Depredations of thefe Saints, can look back without Horror on thofe Times, or ever countenance fuch Meafures as brought the Nation into thofe unhappy Circumftances, is very fuprizing.

As to the Account our Author gives of the Earl of *Clarendon's* Difgrace, it is really a little unintelligible; for he firft tells us, the King facrific'd him to make Peace with his Parliament: Then, that he difcarded him, becaufe he prevented a larger Revenue being fettled upon the Crown. Thirdly, Becaufe he was weary of his imperious Behaviour; and, Laftly,

Lastly, Because he disappointed him of marrying Mrs. *Stewart*, of whom his Majesty was infinitely fond. But after he has work'd us up to a Belief of these Things, and sufficiently reviled his Majesty upon the Occasion, he comes at last, and assures us, *That those who knew his Majesty best*, told him, that the King was not mov'd to discard this Minister, either by these Reasons, or any other, but did it in Compliance with Mrs. *Palmer*, and the Bed-chamber, who were perpetually railing at him; so that all our Author had said for several Pages before, seems to stand for nothing, and it would be difficult to assign any Reason why he should have troubled his Reader with what went before, unless he hop'd by throwing abundance of Dirt, that some of it might stick, and People might be induc'd to retain ill Impressions of the Prince he was determin'd to defame: But here is one seeming Contradiction in this last Account, viz. that Mrs. *Palmer* (the Dutcheß of *Cleveland*) should have such an Influence on his Majesty to procure this great Minister's Disgrace, when we are told the King was passionately fond of Mrs. *Stewart* at the same time, and the thwarting that Amour, is but just before assign'd as the principal Occasion of his Disgrace.

Notwithstanding the Bishop seems scandaliz'd a little before, that the Clergy did not reprove his Majesty for wenching, he here gives us an Instance of Archbishop *Sheldon*'s doing it very freely; that very *Sheldon* whom he charges with having *no Sense of Religion*: Now why an Archbishop, who possessed the greatest Post in the Church, should hazard incurring the Resentment of his Prince in this manner, if he had no Religion, is not easily accounted for, especially at a time when he saw his Majesty sacrificing so great a Man to that very Mistress he thus reprov'd his Majesty for keeping; (if we

are to credit our Author) and if his Friendship to the Lord *Clarendon* was one Inducement for his Grace's using this Freedom, as our Author would insinuate, this rather advances than depresses Dr. *Sheldon's* Character; and really the Behaviour of the whole Bench of Bishops is much to be admir'd upon this great Man's Fall. These idle, luxurious, worthless Fellows, as they are represented by our Author, acted a most glorious and Christian Part upon this Occasion; and as they were satisfy'd the Chancellor was an honest Man, and had deserv'd well of the Church and State, they stood by him to the last, and scorn'd to desert so great a Patriot and Friend to the Constitution, and sacrifice him either to a Woman, or a Favourite. This is a Pattern fit for the Clergy or Laity to follow: Such Instances as these, are seldom seen in Courts, and are oftner admired than imitated.

Well, but the Church of *England* being gone off from his Majesty, he began to court the Sectaries, we are told, and now we may be sure every thing would go right. It is these Bishops and Clergy that are the Bane of every laudable Attempt, according to our Author; for his Majesty had no sooner shaken Hands with them, but Moderation and Comprehension went forwards gloriously, and his Majesty shook off that Indolence so natural to him, and begun to concern himself in the Affairs of *Europe*; though at the same time we are told, that the Duke of *Bucks*, the greatest Debauchee about Court, govern'd all at this time; but this is the Happiness of being of the godly Party, and in the Friendship of the Saints; they communicate their Holiness to us in such a Degree, that our greatest Faults are never after remember'd or taken notice of. The King may keep Wenches, or Masquerade, or kiss the Players, or any thing, so that he do not encourage the Church
of

of *England*: That was the greatest Crime that ever King *Charles* was guilty of, in our Author's Opinion, and is indeed never to be forgiven or forgotten.

Our Author proceeds to tell us, that the King was pretty smart upon the Bishops for reproving him, and standing by their Friend *Clarendon*; for he complain'd even to our Author, (who was then a very pert young Parson, according to his own Relation) that the Clergy did not lead regular Lives, and take Pains with the Fanaticks, or they might easily have brought them over, and instances in the Services his blockheadly Chaplain had done in his Parish; from whence I can't imagine what he would have us infer, unless it be, that Blockheads are fittest to deal with Presbyterians, and that nothing increases the Prejudices of this People so much as to see the Clergy Masters of more Sense and Learning than themselves. He proceeds to tell us, *he was struck*, to hear his Majesty express his Detestation of the scandalous Lives of the Clergy: But why he should be so confounded at this, is not easy to imagine, when he has told us just before that the Archbishop had been reproving his Majesty for something of the same nature; and when a Charge is not to be denied (as this was not, if we credit our Author.) What is more natural than to recriminate, or indeed to suggest a great many Things in our Passion, for which there is but little Foundation? And if it should be admitted, that his Majesty, when he was piqu'd, said all that Dr. *Burnet* reports, it will be far from proving the Clergy so scandalous, as he would have the World believe, unless we are to believe every hasty Expression which Men utter in their Passion. But farther, surely the King could never be concerned at the ill Lives of the Clergy, or at their not bringing over the Dissenters to the Church, because their Reformation and Diligence in this Particular would have condu-

ced more to the Disadvantage of Popery, than any Thing he could have insisted on : And our Author labours quite through his Work, to make us believe, that his Majesty was really a Papist, and set upon introducing Popery. *This was the Motive and Spring of all his Actions*, we are told. But how consistent is that Observation with what he relates of his Majesty here, where he is represented as under a Concern for the Schism made in the Church of *England*, and that her Ministers did not live up to their holy Profession? Surely the Way to have introduced Popery, would have been to have fomented our Divisions, and debauch'd us in our Morals; and this is said to be the constant Endeavour of the Enemies of our Church : The Bishop therefore seems undesignedly to have made his Majesty a Friend to the Protestant Religion, and our Constitution at last, directly contrary to the Tenor of the greatest Part of this blessed History.

ABRIDGMENT.

The rebuilding the City of *London*, gave great Reputation, our Author says, to Chief Justice *Hale*, who drew the Act of Parliament; and to the Amazement of all *Europe*, *London* was rebuilt in four Years, with such Beauty and Magnificence, that Men could but wonder where the Wealth was found, to bear so vast a Loss as had been sustain'd, and furnish such a prodigious Expence, as was occasion'd by the rebuilding of it; *which demonstrates*, he well observes, *that the Wealth of the Nation must then be very great.*

Our Author proceeds to tell us, that the Duke of *Buckingham* press'd the King to acknowledge himself married to the Duke of *Mornmouth's* Mother, and engaged to find Witnesses to attest it. And though the King did not consent to this, yet all concluded

concluded he wished it might be done, if he had known how to bring it about, and that these Discourses got fatally into the Duke of *Monmouth's* Head. And our Author thought the Duke of *York* gave that Matter too much Countenance, by calling the Duke of *Monmouth* Nephew, which he did, he said, to please the King: And when the Party saw this Project did not succeed, they proposed the divorcing his Majesty from the Queen, and others talk'd of Polygamy; and when *Laydardale* and Sir *Robert Murray* ask'd our Author's Opinion of these Things, he said, *he knew a great deal might be said for both*, but that they were rejected by all Christian Societies, and it might intail a War upon us, if any Issue should be produced from such a Marriage. He adds, that upon the Lord *Ross's* obtaining a parliamentary Divorce, it was agreed, to move for a Divorce in the House of Commons for the King, but that the King afterwards put it by, and said, it would not do, though he had engaged far in it, and taken great Pains to manage those who were to be concern'd in the Debate.

Our Author next reflects upon their Majesties masquerading, as a most abominable piece of Extravagance; and says, that once the Queen's Chairmen not knowing her, she was forc'd to come back to *Whitehall* in a Hackney Coach, and some say in a Cart, which gave the Duke of *Byckingham* a Hint of stealing her away, and carrying her to the Plantations; but the King rejected the Project with Indignation, our Author acknowledges, and said, it was a wicked thing to make a poor Lady miserable, only because she was his Wife, and had no Children, which was none of her Fault.

Another Project was set on Foot, he tells us, that the Queen's Confessor should persuade her Majesty to go into a Nunnery, upon which the Parliament would have made no Scruple to have pass'd an Act

for her Divorce, but *it was believed*, our Author says, that the Duchess of *York* hereupon gave Notice of her Conversion to the Pope, and Orders came from *Rome* thereupon, to dissuade her Majesty from going into a Cloyster. Here our Author gives us an Account of his Majesty's entertaining several other Mistresses, as Mrs. *Davis*, *Nel Gwyn*, and Mrs. *Roberts*: *Davis* was soon turned off, he says; *Gwyn* was the indiscreetest and wildest Creature that ever came into a Court, and continued in great Favour as long as the King lived: She was very expensive, having gotten of the King threescore thousand Pounds in four Years, as the Duke of *Buckingham* told him: She mimick'd all Persons in so lively a manner, as afforded the King constant Diversion, but he never treated her with the Decency of a Mistress. Mrs. *Roberts*, he says, was a Clergyman's Daughter, and though she was for some Time scandalous enough, yet she died a great Penitent. The Duchess of *Cleveland* having lost the King's Affections, he says, entertained other Gallants, and was surprized by the King with one of them by the Management of the Duke of *Buckingham*.

The King was sufficiently libell'd on these Occasions, he tells us, in which the Earls of *Dorset* and *Rocheſter*, and Sir *Charles Sidley*, are said to be principally concern'd.

The Duke of *Ormond* was about this Time remov'd from the Government of *Ireland*, to make room for the Lord *Roberts*, afterwards Earl of *Radnor*. When the Lord *Arlington* was sent to the Duke of *Ormond* for his Commission, we are told, the Duke said, as he receiv'd it from the King's own Hands, he would deliver it up himself; and when he brought it to the King, he denied he had sent him any such Message. Two Days after Lord *Arlington* was sent again, and the King disowned it a second Time; nay, after the King had declared

in Council the making *Roberts* Lord Lieutenant, we are told, the King denied to the Duke of *Ornmod* he had dispos'd of that Post, when he came to expostulate that Matter with him, as *Fitz Patrick*, who married the Duke's Sister told our Author.

And now we are informed again, as we have often been already, that the Court was given up to Vice, and the Commons lost all Respect with the People, by granting all the Money that was ask'd: However, they appointed a Committee to examine the Accounts relating to the Money that had been given for the *Dutch War*. Our Author says, he has been told, that no Account could be given for above eight hundred thousand Pounds of this Money; though he confesses, his Information was *very imperfect*, for he was not then in *England*. The chief Members, he says, were taken off, that is, corrupted, and so the Enquiry was let fall; and indeed, every Man's Price in the Parliament was well known, he says. However, in the Debates many Reflections were cast upon the Court, and particularly by Sir *John Coventry*, who when it was propos'd to lay a Tax upon the Play-Houses, and it was said the Players were the King's Servants, and a Part of his Pleasure, *Coventry* ask'd, *whether the King's Pleasure lay among the Men or the Women that acted*. This is said to be the first Time that the King was personally reflected on, and that to prevent any such insolent Discourse for the future, he ordered some of the Guards to way-lay Sir *John* as he went Home, and to slit his Nose, and this was executed by the particular Direction of the Duke of *Monmouth*, who then liv'd in Friendship with *Coventry*; This Fact enraged the House of Commons, and occasion'd a Bill for banishing the Parties concern'd, which had a Clause, disabling the King to pardon them.

An Act was about this Time also pass'd, our Author observes, for suppressing Conventicles; wherein was a Clause, that if any Doubt arose concerning the Determination of the Sense of it, it should be taken most to the Disadvantage of Conventicles; and another Clause for laying grievous Fines upon the Justices of Peace, who did not execute the Laws against them; and the Quakers, he observes, grew so very obstinate and perverse, that the Government was weary of taking Notice of them.

Great Endeavours were us'd about this Time, we are told, to create Differences between the Houses of Lords and Commons, in order to prevent the Money Bills passing; whereupon the King was advised to go to the House of Lords, which he did almost every Day, by Way of Diversion; and he would sollicite not only publick Affairs, but Matters of private Justice, and go round the House, and speak to every Man worth speaking to in a very little Time, and was very zealous, he says, for the Act against Conventicles, not that he design'd to put it in Execution, but he was desirous to have those Men at his Mercy, that he might force them to concur in bringing about a general Toleration. He allows, that his Majesty never resented any Man's denying him his Vote, but if he promis'd it, and afterwards deceiv'd him, he would speak hardly of him, and call it juggling.

The King, he says, had no sooner put his Fleet in good Order, and got his Magazines furnished, but he began a Negotiation with *France* for the Ruin of *Holland*, and the Subversion of the Government of *England*; and the Prince of *Orange* coming over to *England* in the Year 69, being about twenty Years of Age, to sollicite the Debt the King owed his Father, which the King assur'd him he would pay, but took no Care about it, his Majesty sounded the

the Prince, as to his Religion, and told him, our Author says, that the Protestants were a factious broken Body, and wish'd him to look into those Things, and not be govern'd by his *Dutch* Block-heads. The Prince wondred he would speak so freely to him of so great a Secret as his being a Papist at that time was: And he told our Author, it seems, that he never mention'd it to any one but his Uncle *Zwylestein*, till after his Majesty's Death; but from that time the Prince never expected any great Assistance from the King.

R E M A R K S.

The rebuilding the City of *London* with that Beauty and Magnificence, and in so short a time, is justly admir'd by our Author: But why his Majesty and the Administration, the Parliament, and the Magistrates of the City, who express'd so much Care, and us'd such Diligence to effect this mighty Work, should be entirely depriv'd of the Honour of it, and the whole ascrib'd to the Chief Justice *Hale*, who drew the Act for rebuilding it (according to our Author) is a little disingenuous: The Prince and the Administration are generally complimented with some Share in the great Works that were effected in their Days; but that the Brethren might be made to speak uniformly, I suppose, as they had charg'd his Majesty and the Royal Family with the Destruction of the City, our Author thought it would have been absurd to have allow'd the Court any Share in the rebuilding it; if *Nero* sung when *Rome* was in Flames, he must of consequence weep to see it rise again out of its Ashes. It is very possible Judge *Hale* might have some Share in the penning the Act, but no doubt many more were concern'd in it; Workmen and Artificers

must have been heard before the Council and Committee, and much Deliberation and Foresight must have been us'd upon this Occasion, is evident; and why Sir *Matthew Hale* should run away with the whole Honour of it, I can conceive no other Reason for, unless it be that he is said to be a Friend of Father *Baxter's*, and of the Brethren. Besides, the Care that was taken by the Court of the Sufferers, by the King and Parliament, both at and after the Fire, and the Care that was taken by the City Magistrates to see the Act duly put in Execution; these Things, one would think, should have deriv'd some Honour upon them: But it seems these were most of them Friends of the Church and Constitution, and therefore cannot be suppos'd to be recorded in this Work for their good Deeds. You will observe enough said of their persecuting the Faithful, (that is, of their Care to suppress Conspiracies, and prevent a Civil War breaking out again;) but we seldom hear any thing from this Author which he apprehends may appear to their Advantage, unless when he forgets himself, and happens inadvertently to blunder out the Truth; of which there do not want Instances.

As to the various Attempts his Majesty is said to make to procure a Divorce from his Queen, I look upon these Relations to be *pure secret History*; or in other Words, perfect Novels, so far as they relate to his Majesty himself; what the Lord *Lauderdale* and his Creature young Parson *Burnet* might project among themselves, I cannot answer for, but it must appear highly improbable to all the World that his Majesty was contriving a Divorce at this time, when we find the Earl of *Arlington*, in a Letter to Sir *William Temple*, informing him, that this very Year her Majesty miscarried of a Child of which she had gone twenty Weeks. It is not likely the King should think

think of a Divorce till he was better assur'd he should have no Issue by this Queen, especially when we have no better Authority than *Bishop Burnet's* Word for it: And what makes it still the more incredible is, that none of those Gentlemen whom the King is said to have taken great Pains with to promote this Matter in the Parliament-house, have to this Day reveal'd any such thing.

As to that abominable Practice of Masquerading, I have not one Word to say for it, but that I wonder our Author, who was so very free with the Court upon other Occasions, and so intimate with the Duke of *Bucks* the great Promoter of it, never censur'd the Practice till so many Years after the Parties concern'd were gone off the Stage: Tho' I can't but think, if this Practice had proceeded so far as to occasion her Majesty to be dragg'd to *White-hall* in a Cart, we should have heard of it long before this.

As to that improbable Story relating to the displacing the Duke of *Ormond*, he that can believe that the King deny'd it three several times to his Face, in the manner our Author relates, must have a greater Faith in *Father Burnet's* Veracity than I have; for let the King be as bad as the Doctor would make him, all the World agree he was no Fool, and what could he propose to gain by asserting a Matter which he knew the Duke might disprove in half an Hour, and instead of appeasing, must surely disgust him not much less than the Loss of his Post? His pretending that the King repeated this several Days, and even after the Lord *Roberts* was declar'd Lord Lieutenant at the Council-board, (of which he was conscious the Duke could not be ignorant,) with me amounts to a very strong Presumption there is not one Word of Truth in all this formal Story.

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That the Court was a debauch'd Court, we have heard often enough from our Author; but I did not expect to have had it mention'd when the Duke of *Bucks*, the great Patron of the Fanaticks, was Prime Minister. That the Commons were vile Fellows for granting Money in this Reign, there is no doubt to be made of it; tho' if they had granted forty times as much in some other Reigns, they had never incurr'd our Author's Censure: However, they appointed a Committee, it seems, to examine the Accounts, and I don't hear of one Article for secret Service: Indeed he says there was 800,000*l.* of which no Account could be given; but alack-a-day! if he had search'd into some other Times, he would have found as many Millions unaccounted for; and as to this 800,000*l.* he seems to warn us not to rely too much upon his Word, for he confesses he had but a very imperfect Account of these Matters. The Members of the House, he proceeds to inform us, were all brib'd, *every Man's Price was known*; and what Wonder is it then that these Gentlemen should raise Money to pay themselves? And now I think our Author has given us very good Reason to believe, the Money which was granted for the War was not all squander'd away upon Whores. But it is a Demonstration to me, that the Art of Bribery was far from being come to Perfection in that Reign; for if it had, we should never have seen this very Parliament prove so very fullen as they did some time afterwards, and refuse to raise a Penny: I can never believe that if the Members had shar'd Part of the Plunder, they would ever have ceas'd giving, or have refus'd the Court any one thing they demanded, as we find they did; insomuch that it was found necessary to dissolve them: The Art of Bribery was then in its Infancy, and only now and then a Leading Member *taken off*,

as our Author has it: The Corruption was not then general, if it had, our Liberties had long since expir'd.

To proceed; should a Man have ask'd such an unlucky Question in some other Reigns, as Sir *John Coventry* did in this, namely, *Whether the King's Pleasure lay among the Men or Women Players?* I question whether the Loss of a Nose would have been deem'd Punishment enough for his Insolence: But we see even this brib'd House of Commons yet retain'd Spirit enough to resent the Affront done to their Member: Which is a further Argument that Bribery run very low at that time, or the Ministry had not the Art of applying Bribes. But nothing is brought to Perfection in a Day.

The following Accounts we meet with of his Majesty, would not incline us to think him so extremely indolent as he is represented in other Places; for we are told here, that he spent his Time not only in managing Affairs of State, but in soliciting private Causes: That he put his Fleet into good Order, and replenish'd his Magazines; that he form'd great Designs against *Holland*, as well as against his own People, and took Pains to reconcile his Nephew the Prince of *Orange* to the Church of *Rome*: So that, for ought I see, we are again reduc'd to this Dilemma, either to believe nothing, or to believe Contradictions. It is some Comfort, however, to observe that these Things are not made Articles of our Faith: Had this holy Father proceeded as *Peter* did in the *Tale of a Tub*, and oblig'd us to swallow these Morfels without chewing, on Pain of Damnation, very deplorable had been our Condition!

Moderation and Comprehension, our Author tells us, were *now* propos'd in *Scotland*, as well as in *England*; but *Leighton* was the only Man among the Bishops, who was for such Methods, and he would make no Step without consulting *Gilbert Burnet*, it seems. The People, he says, were fallen off entirely from the Episcopal Clergy in the *West*, and a Set of hot fiery Zealots went about to inflame them still more: *Leighton* thought to have gain'd them by Concessions; and propos'd the joining Presbyters with the Bishop in Church Judicatories, and that the Bishop should only act as President, and be determin'd by a Majority of his Presbyters, both in Matters of Jurisdiction and Ordination, and that the Bishops should have no negative Voice, and that the Laws which settled Episcopacy should be alter'd according to this Scheme: He thought it also much decenter for Bishops to go to the Parish and ordain the Incumbent there, after solemn Fasting and Prayer, than to *buddle it up* at his Cathedral, hardly with common Decency. People who were ordained, were also to be at Liberty to declare that they look'd upon the Bishop only as the Head of the Presbyters: And it was propos'd that a Treaty should be set on foot to persuade the Presbyterians to accept of these Concessions.

Here our Author gives us a short Account of a Person endeavouring to assassinate *Dr. Sharpe*, by firing a Pistol at him as he was going into his Coach; but it miss'd the Archbishop, it seems, and wounded the Bishop of *Orkney*; *Sharpe* was so generally hated, he says, that tho' this was done in the high Street, at Noon-day, no Body endeavour'd to apprehend the Assassin; who went to his House, chang'd

chang'd his Cloaths, and appear'd again immediately in the Streets: Our Author says he went to congratulate the Archbishop upon his Escape, who put on a *Shew of Devotion*, and said, with a serious Look, *My Times are wholly in thy Hand, O thou God of my Life*: But this was the single Expression favouring of Piety that ever he heard fall from him. It was thought fit to call the Archbishop to Court, he says, upon this Occasion, and the King treated him with peculiar Marks of Respect: And our Author does not forget to acquaint us that the Archbishop paid him a Visit at his Parsonage-house, in his Way to Court; and that he seem'd to approve of the moderate Measures that were now taking; and when he return'd to *Scotland*, mov'd in Council for an Indulgence to some of the dissenting Preachers, that they might be admitted to Livings, upon Condition only that they would not speak against Episcopacy, or administer the Sacraments to any of the neighbouring Parishes, without the Leave of their own Ministers: But it was to no Purpose, and that *Sharpe* knew before, he says, *for none of them would engage to observe any Limitations whatever*. The Act for modelling the County Militia was now put in Execution in *Scotland*, our Author says, and above two thousand Horse, and sixteen thousand Foot were rais'd, and form'd into independent Regiments and Troops, and were to obey the Orders of the Privy-Council: The converting these Troops into a standing Militia, was a great Stretch of the Prerogative, he thinks; but the Earl of *Lauderdale* was now endeavouring to get into the Administration in *England*, and thought by this means to render himself considerable, having a great Army, with a Magazine of Arms and Money, to serve the King's Designs upon any Occasion: And all his Creatures gave out, that none ever knew, before him, how to make *Scotland* considerable to the King. A-

A Proposition was made about this Time for a Union between the two Kingdoms, we are told, but it came to nothing. Our Author proceeds to tell us, he wrote a Letter to Court concerning the State of *Scotland*, and advised the putting some of the moderate Presbyterians into the vacant Churches. This, he says, gave the deciding Stroke to that Project, but it drew on him the Hatred of all that knew it; for the King thereupon ordered the Privy-Council to indulge such of the Presbyterians as were peaceable and loyal, and permit them to serve in the vacant Churches, though they did not submit to the present Establishment; and above forty of the Presbyterian Ministers had Parishes assigned them accordingly. Some of them, he said, made Scruples at first of going to their Churches *without a Call*, and would not enter on their Cures till the Church Sessions, and the Inhabitants of the Parish had met and chosen them for their Pastors. But this however look'd like an Election upon a *Congé d'elire*, with a Letter naming the Person to be chosen, with which they had often diverted themselves; but where Scruples are not supported by Interest, he observes, Men easily learn Distinctions to free themselves from them; and so it happened in this Case, for every Man went and took Possession of the Church that was mark'd out for him, and the People receiv'd them at first with Transports of Joy, but when they found they preach'd *only the Doctrines of Christianity*, and did not preach to the *Times*, as they call it, they in Derision gave these Preachers the Nicknames of the King's Curates and dumb Dogs, that could not bark; and said, this was only an Artifice to lay Matters a Sleep, and *one of the Depths of Satan*, to give a present Quiet in order to destroy Presbytery; and they thought there was a *visible departing of the Divine Assistance from those*

those Preachers, and so they deserted them, as they had their Episcopal Ministers, and went again to Conventicles.

This Indulgence our Author acknowledges was directly contrary to Law, for none were capable of Benefices that were not instituted by Bishops; and the Episcopal Men, who formerly us'd to resign all to the King's Authority when he was for them, now began to talk of Law; *for Parties, he observes, who want the Shelter of the Law, or the Power of the Prerogative to support them, are apt by Turns to magnify the one or the other.*

Archbishop Burnet, and the Episcopal Clergy, our Author says, were now not only abandoned, but ill us'd and threaten'd by the People.

The Parliament of Scotland meeting about this Time, pass'd an Act, declaring that the settling all Things relating to the external Government of the Church was a Right of the Crown; and that all Matters relating to Ecclesiastical Persons or Things, should be ordered according to such Directions as the King should send his Privy Council, and when published by the Council, should have the Force of Laws.

All the Bishops that were present, our Author says, voted for this Act, and even Sharpe and Leighton among the rest; but Leighton repented it afterwards. And our Author seems to bless himself, that he had no Share in the Counsels, which promoted this Act; for some thought, that it made the King a Pope; the Presbyterians said it put him in Christ's stead, and that he had already too much Power in Church Matters, and nothing ruin'd the Clergy more than their servile Compliances, and base Dependance upon Courts.

An Act also pass'd, approving all that had been done in relation to the Militia, and declaring that it should be still kept up, and be ready to march into any Part of his Majesty's Dominions, upon an Order from
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the Privy-Council. The Earl of *Lauderdale* valued himself, he says, upon procuring these Acts, as if he had conquer'd Kingdoms by them, assuring his Majesty, that *Scotland* was now in his Power, as well the Church as the Militia, and every Man ready to march whenever he should order him, with several other very ill Insinuations.

The King having now the supream Power in Church Affairs lodg'd in him, turn'd out Archbishop *Burnet* to make way for *Leightoun* and Indulgence; and our Author tells us, that he himself was chosen Professor of Divinity at *Glasgow*, without his seeking, which engag'd him in a great deal of Business; for the Clergy *all came to him, and laid their Grievances before him*; they were very ill us'd, threaten'd, and affronted upon all Occasions, he says, their Churches entirely forsaken, and many of them shut up: The Gentlemen of the Country on the other Hand complain'd of the Vices and Follies of the Clergy; and though it was not reasonable to believe all they said, yet it was impossible not to believe a great deal; he found Calumny was equally practis'd on both Sides, so that he came to mistrust every Thing he heard. One Thing however was visible, that in the Conventicles which abounded, *strange Doctrine was vented*, and the King's Supremacy became the chief Subject of their Declamation.

After our Author had been some Months amongst them, he says, and heard so much that he believ'd very little, he wrote to Lord *Tvedale* that Disorders did certainly increase, but as to Particulars he knew not what to believe, much less could he suggest Remedies for them, but propos'd, that a Committee of Council should take a Circuit round the Country, and prepare a Report against the meeting of the Parliament, and accordingly a Committee

was

was appointed, who punish'd some Disorders, and threatned greater Severities, if the Country grew more insolent upon the Favours that were shewn them. Our Author says, he was blam'd by the Presbyterians for what the Committee had done, and by the Episcopal Men, because so little was done. Our Author adds, that the Committee consulted much with him, and he so effectually interceded for those they had imprison'd, that they were all set at Liberty, and the Episcopal Party thereupon charg'd our Author with making himself popular at their Cost; which gave Rise, he says, to that Fury and Calumny that has pursued him ever since from that sort of People; as a secret Enemy and Underminer of their Interest, but he was then, he says, and is still an Enemy to all Force and Violence in *Matters of Conscience*, and no Principle is more detested, he observes, by bad and ill natur'd Clergymen, than this.

The Court found some Difficulty, our Author says, in persuading *Leightroun* to accept the Archbishoprick of *Glasgow*. He sent for our Author, it seems, in his Way to *London*, to know what Prospect there was of his doing any Good at this Juncture. He could not much encourage him, he says, but gave him Hopes, and was indeed inclined to think, that an Accommodation or Comprehension was not impracticable. *Leightroun* propos'd his Scheme of Accommodation to the King, and set forth the great Advantage it would be to his Majesty's Affairs, if that Country could be brought into Temper; whereupon the King, who seldom gave himself the Trouble to think twice of any thing, gave Way to it, and *Leightroun's* Proposals were turn'd into Instructions to the Lord *Lauderdale* to make Concessions, which were to be converted into Laws; though our Author thinks it probable, he had other secret In-

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structions to spoil the Matter, and deceive them all.

When *Leighton* came to his See, and held a Synod of his Clergy; nothing was to be heard, he says, but Complaints, and the ill Usage they all receiv'd from their People. *Leighton* in his Sermons and Discourses both in publick and private, exhorted them to look up to God, and consider themselves as the Ministers of the Cross of Christ, and to bear the Contempt and ill Usage they met with, as an Exercise for their Faith and Patience; to lay aside all Thoughts of Revenge, and apply themselves to Fasting and Prayer, and then they might expect the Blessing of Heaven. But this was a comfortless Doctrine to them, he says, which they had not been us'd to, no speedy Ways being propos'd to force the People to Church, or for sending Soldiers into the Country, or raising the Fines the Malecontents were liable to; and so the Clergy return'd Home as little edified with their Bishop, as he was with them.

Bishop *Leighton* afterwards visited several Parts of his Diocese, and carried our Author along with him: He endeavour'd to persuade the indulged Ministers to hearken to Peace, and told them, Terms would be offer'd them by the Government, in order to make up their Differences; that all was sincerely meant, and they would meet with no Artifice or Hardships, and that the Terms offer'd them would be converted into Laws if they embraced them, and the vacant Churches filled with their Brethren; but they received all these kind Offers with Indifference, or rather Neglect; insomuch, that they were hardly civil to him, or thank'd him for his tender Care. However, when the Parliament met, Letters were sent to six of the Presbyterian Preachers,

Preachers, desiring them to come to Town; and a long Conference was held between *Leightoun* and them, before the Earls of *Lauderdale*, *Rothes*, *Tweedale*, and *Kincairdine*. *Leightoun* told them for his own Part, he was convinced, that Episcopacy, as an Order distinct from Presbyters, had continued in the Church ever since the Time of the Apostles, and the World had every where receiv'd the Christian Religion from Bishops, and a Parity of Clergymen was never dreamt of until the middle of the last Century; however, since the Presbyterians were of another Mind, he would offer them an Expedient, by which both Sides might preserve their several Opinions, and yet unite in carrying on the Ends of the Gospel. They had Moderators amongst them, he observed, which were not of Divine Institution, and these he propos'd should be named by the King; and the making them constant, he thought would be no such Encroachment, as that the Peace of the Church ought to be broke for it; nor could they say, the Blessing of these Men by an Imposition of Hands would degrade them from their former Office; and though others might think they had a new and special Authority, more than a bare Presidency, they need not be concerned at it, who were not required to concur with them in any Thing, but in submitting to this Presidency; and even in this, they should be permitted to declare their own Opinion against it, as fully and publickly as they pleased.

They had a second Conference, our Author says, wherein these Matters were more fully open'd, and Lord *Lauderdale* made both Sides dine together, and came to them after Dinner, but could scarce refrain from expressing his Indignation at the Behaviour of the Presbyterians, which appeared both rude and crafty. However, *Leightoun* prevailed with him to

contain himself, and not give them a Handle to excuse their flying off by any rough Usage; but the Parliament observing the perverse and intractable Behaviour of the Presbyterians, pass'd two severe Acts against Conventicles, our Author tells us, by one of which all Field-Conventicles were made treasonable; Landlords on whose Grounds they were held were to be severely fin'd; and House-Conventicles croud'd at the Doors and Windows, were to be deem'd and punished as Field-Conventicles.

The Severity of this Act, our Author says, was occasion'd by a great Field-Conventicle held in *Fife*, whither several Gentlemen came arm'd, which made it look'd upon as a rebellious Rendezvous, rather than a religious Assembly. The King was not well pleas'd with the Severity of this Act, as Sir *Robert Murray* told our Author; more especially, because the Preachers were to be punish'd with Death: Bloody Laws his Majesty observ'd did no Good, and he would never have pass'd it, if he had been appriz'd of the Matter beforehand. One half of the Parliament also abhorr'd the Act, but was so abject and submissive to the Lord *Lauderdale*, he says, that except the young Earl of *Cassilis*, not one Man voted against it: It pass'd so suddenly, that *Leightroun* knew nothing of it; and he expostulated very severely with the Lord *Twedale* about it, as being contrary to the common Rules of Humanity; and said, he was asham'd to mix in Counsels that could pass such Acts: He thought it strange also, that neither he nor our Author were consulted in the Matter. To whom the Earl of *Twedale* replied, That the late Field-Conventicle had forc'd them to these Severities, which could not be well excus'd at another Time, but assur'd them, it was never intended to put the Act in Execution.

Six Episcopal Divines, among whom our Author was one, were sent into the Western Counties, he says, to preach in the vacant Churches, and argue upon the Grounds of the Accommodation or Comprehension which had been offer'd: They were amaz'd, he says, to find the poor People so capable of arguing upon Points of Government, and on the Bounds to be set to the Power of Princes in religious Matters: They had Texts of Scripture at Hand, and readily answer'd to whatever was said to them upon these Topicks, but were indeed vain, and much conceited of their Knowledge, and so intangled with Scruples, that *they either found or made Difficulties in every Thing that was proposed to them*; and as soon as these six Preachers were return'd out of the Country, where they remain'd about three Months, a Set of hot Preachers went round all the Places, endeavouring to defeat all that had been done, telling the People, that the Devil was never so formidable, as when he was transform'd into an Angel of Light.

The ejected Presbyterian Preachers had several Meetings, our Author says, and finding that their People had got a Notion, that all these Offers were only Artifices to extinguish Presbytery, by making some seeming Concessions to the present Generation, and that if the Ministers went into it, it was only to make a Provision for themselves during their Lives, the Ministers hereupon seem'd so subdu'd with a Desire of rendring themselves popular, that they resolv'd to reject the Propositions, though they could not well tell on what Grounds to justify it. Upon the whole, our Author says, nothing was like to follow on this Negotiation; they who were engag'd in it lost their own Side by making such Concessions, and the Presbyterians would not make one Step towards them; they only said, they had

consider'd the Propositions, and were not satisfied in their Consciences to accept them, and rejected them, without giving any Reasons for it, or offering any Expedient on their Part; whereupon *Leighston* told them, that the Continuance of their Divisions must now lie at their Door, both before God and Man; and it appeared, *that nothing but the Fear of offending, that is, of losing the Credit they had with their Party, could be so much as pretended for their refusing to agree to these Proposals.* The Design of *Leighston*, and our Author, he says, was to allay a violent Agitation of Men's Spirits, and to heal a Breach which was like to let in an Inundation of Miseries, as appeared evidently afterwards; for the High Party still proceeded in their old Method of Persecution, and recovering their Credit with the Government, carried their violent Proceedings so far, that they drew on themselves the Fury of the enraged Multitude, whom they had oppressed so long, that the Episcopal Order was at length abolished; an account of which Transaction he promises to give us in its proper Place; and he says, the Roughness of their own Side, and the Perverseness of the Presbyterians, did so alienate him from both, that he was resolved to withdraw himself and meddle no more, but give himself up to Study; and though he was then, and for three Years after offered a Bishoprick, he refused it, for he saw the Counsels altering above, and he resolved to be a Looker on, while he saw what Turn Things would take.

It was at this Time (1671) our Author says, that he wrote the Memoirs of the Dukes of *Hamilton*, which he collected from Papers which were communicated to him by the Duchess: He wrote them with great Sincerity, he says, and concealed none of their Errors: He left out indeed several Passages

Passages in the King's Letters, in which he had express'd too much Weakness, or too much Craft and Anger. The Duke of *Lauderdale* hearing our Author had finish'd this Work, sent for him to *London*, he says, and treated him with a greater Degree of Kindness than ever, offering him two Bishopricks; which the Doctor refus'd, he says: Whatever he ask'd for his Friends, was granted, and he was look'd upon as the Duke of *Lauderdale*'s Favourite, trusted with his Secrets, and the Duke seem'd to reserve nothing from him; and the Reason of all this was, our Author says, to engage him to insert many things in *Hamilton*'s Memoirs relating to Duke *Lauderdale*, and to oblige him to break Friendship with *Sir Robert Murray*. He refus'd to part with his Friend *Murray*, for he had been a Father to him, he says; but he promis'd to communicate nothing to *Murray*, with which Duke *Lauderdale* entrusted him, and so enjoy'd his Confidence. Our Author says, he also reconcil'd Duke *Hamilton* to *Lauderdale*, between which Noblemen there had been a Misunderstanding for some time.

The Lord *Lauderdale* consulted our Author again, he says, about Church Affairs; and he still advis'd the extending the Indulgence to the Presbyterian Preachers, and putting them into the vacant Livings; to which the Lord *Lauderdale* agreed: And four Bishops happening to die this Year, (of whom the Bishop of *Edinburgh* was one,) our Author was offer'd his Choice of any one of them; but he refus'd them all, and *Leighbourn* had the Nomination of the new Bishops, except one, which he permitted *Sharpe* to name.

REMARKS.

That Observation, that *the Dissenters are not to be gain'd by Concessions*, is surely abundantly confirm'd by the Relation this good Bishop has given us of the perverse Behaviour of the *Scotish* Presbyterians, who when the Government offer'd to give up even the Points of Episcopal Ordination, and the Jurisdiction of the Bishops, yet this would not satisfy them: Nay, when they were offer'd to be put into Livings, upon Condition only that they would not preach against Episcopacy, or administer the Sacrament to Parishioners of another Parish, without Leave of their own Ministers, these were reckon'd such insupportable Impositions, that even a good Benefice could not overcome their Obstinacy so far as to bring them to a Compliance: *None of them*, our Author says, *would engage to observe any Limitations whatever*. And we are here given to understand that our Author was no inconsiderable Man at this time, for he tells us, that upon *his Advice* the Presbyterians were put into the vacant Churches, without Institution, or any Limitations at all; though this was directly contrary to Law; for every Incumbent ought to have had the Bishop's Institution. And from hence, probably, the World will not only observe what an Influence this young Parson had on the Administration, but also that he himself, who cries out so much against breaking thro' the Laws, cou'd deliberately advise the Breach thereof to advance a favourite Scheme, and let his Friends the Presbyterians into Livings, from whence they had violently forc'd the legal Incumbents by Threats and ill Usage: This drew on him the Hatred of all, he says; I suppose he means the Episcopal Clergy: And whether they had not

not some Reason for their Resentment, will appear from what follows, if it be not sufficiently evident already.

But still, it seems, these holy Fathers could hardly find in their Hearts to accept of these vacant Livings, because they were appointed to their respective Cures by the Government, and not call'd in the Fanatical Way: However, we are told they did evade or conquer their Scruples for once, and they were both appointed by the State, and elected by the Parish; tho' this our Author very aptly resembles to an Election upon a *Congé d'élire*; with which, he observes, they were us'd formerly to make themselves exceeding merry.

Well, but these Preachers being upon their good Behaviour, and liable to be turn'd out whenever they affronted the Government, did not *preach to the Times*, as 'tis call'd; that is, *they did not preach up Rebellion, and revile the Administration*, as they were us'd to do: Whereupon the People flighted them, call'd them dumb Dogs, and concluded, it seems, *that the divine Grace was departed from them*. And now we come to understand what the Brethren mean by DIVINE GRACE; namely, a Spirit of Calumny and Detraction, which exerts itself principally in inciting the People against their Governors, and fomenting Sedition and Rebellion: So blind, or so obstinate, were these People, that they mistook the Works of the Devil, for divine Grace; and deserv'd to be indulg'd, no doubt, as much as Highwaymen, who shall mistake Murder for an Act of Charity: And in fact, we find our Author himself enumerating as many kinds of Violence practis'd by these Saints upon the Episcopal Clergy, in his *four Conferences*, as the most notorious Robbers could be guilty of, and that only for their Submission to the Establishment, as he there assures us,
and

and even acknowledges, upon Occasion, in this very History.

However, at the meeting of the Parliament, the Lord *Lauderdale*, it seems, who now acted suitably to his own Principles, procur'd an Act to vest all Ecclesiastical Power in the Crown; by virtue whereof Archbishop *Burnet* (whom our Author admits to be a sincere good-natur'd Man) was turn'd out to make Way for his Friend and Favourite Saint *Leigh-toun*, who constantly acted in Opposition to the rest of his Brethren, and seem'd too pure to defile himself with their vain Conversation. This Man, by his wonderful Condescension, and uncommon Holiness, it was thought, would be able to conquer all Presbyterian Prejudices, and incline the Brethren to come within the Pale of the Church; and our Author himself, tho' no Bishop, had no small Share in carrying on this Project of Comprehension with his Friend *Leighmann*. But before they set about their principal Work, it seems, our Author was much apply'd to, and mightily taken up with, enquiring into the Scandals that had been cast upon the Clergy, and the Insolence offer'd to them by the Saints; *All laid their Grievances before him*, he says; *and the Clergy*, he found, *had been very ill us'd, threaten'd and affronted upon all Occasions*. On the other hand, the Gentlemen of the Country complain'd of their Vices and Follies, and he could not help believing a great deal to be true; and yet afterwards he tells us, that he heard so many Lies from both Sides, that he mistrusted every thing he heard. And it is remarkable, that our Author always keeps in Generals, and does not condescend to give any Instances of vicious scandalous Clergymen, as he infallibly would have done if he could, to justify this Indulgence of the Presbyterians.

What

What is another Confirmation of the innocent Lives of that Clergy is, that a Committee being appointed to enquire into these Things, they took notice of the insolent Behaviour of the Presbyterians towards the Clergy, and imprison'd many of them for it: But we do not find one Clergyman convicted of living unsuitably to his Profession; and yet our Author, out of his abundant Charity, made use of his Interest to procure all the Prisoners to be discharg'd, without making one Example; notwithstanding he assures us, in his *four Conferences*, that the Outrages of those fiery Zealots were such, that worse could not have been apprehended from Heathens: And well might the Episcopal Clergy say our Author endeavour'd to render himself popular at their Cost; and, whatever Dr. Burnet might think of it himself, such a Proceeding might very justly set the Episcopal Clergy against him, as a *secret Enemy, and Underminer of their Interest*. Nor can he wipe his Mouth, and pretend that he was induc'd to proceed in this manner out of a Principle of *Moderation*, and an Aversion to all Force and Violence in *Matters of Conscience*; when he himself must acknowledge, that never were such Sons of Violence suffer'd in any Government, as these pretended Saints appear'd to be; they invaded (that is, they openly beset) Clergymen's Houses, rifled them, and robb'd them of their Goods, cruelly beat and wounded them and their Wives, &c. *Four Conf. 290*. Will our Author pretend that these barbarous Villanies were committed *out of Conscience*? He might as well have pleaded for a Suspension of the Laws against Murder and Robbery, and then have pretended an Aversion to Force and Violence in *Matters of Conscience*. And a very happy Condition were these Clergymen in; it appears they were daily insulted, robb'd and plunder'd; and yet the Government, at

our Author's Intercession, who was influenc'd by his great Fondness for *Moderation*, were induc'd to afford them no Protection; and many of them, our Author confesses, were forc'd to fly the Kingdom, and abandon their Churches, to avoid this barbarous Usage. Surely these unhappy Men were of all others the most miserable, even when they had the Laws on their Side, thro' the vile Practices of such false Brethren, even as he himself has related these Transactions.

As to this Dr. *Leightoun*, whom our Author so extravagantly crys up, for his uncommon Sanctity, Mortification, and Self-denial, if he was that primitive good Man our Author would sometimes have us believe, he has certainly drawn him very much to his Disadvantage, as has been observ'd already: And here, when his Clergy came to complain to him of the ill Usage they receiv'd from their People, he is represented as exhorting them to bear their Cross with Patience, and have Recourse to Prayers and Tears, when they were daily plunder'd, robb'd and wounded, and went in danger of their Lives from the Fanaticks, who were so much more dreadful than other Robbers, that they associated in Companies like *Banditti*, and committed these Outrages under Pretence of *Conscience*, and in the Name of the Lord; and were the more embolden'd to commit these Robberies, being conscious they had Friends at Court, who would ascribe it all to a *Zeal for Religion*, and screen them from the Punishment of the Civil Magistrate. Surely it had been more to the Purpose to have made some Examples of the Criminals, or at least, have afforded these poor Clergymen a Guard for their Protection, (a Method which our Author here endeavours to ridicule,) than to advise them to fast and pray, when they were plunder'd of all they had; which

which was indeed an Expedient such as might have been expected from so moderate a Bishop; but one would have thought it needless to enjoin them to fast, when they had nothing left to live upon. Surely the Doctrines of the Gospel were never intended to protect common Thieves and Robbers! And after all, what Effect do we find of this unreasonable Lenity extended towards these Villains? Why we are told, they receiv'd all the kind Offers that were made them with Indifference, or rather Rudeness; and were not so much as civil to this good Bishop *Leighbrun*. And that they express'd so much Rudeness and Disingenuity, even before the High Commissioner *Lauderdale*, who had procur'd all these Concessions for them, that he was with Difficulty, it seems, restrain'd from expressing his Resentment at the time of the Conference; tho' He sufficiently manifested it afterwards, we are told; which our Author seems very angry with him for.

But it is further observable, that at the very time the Government condescended to humour them to so great a degree, they grew yet more insolent than ever, and in great Multitudes assembled arm'd, at a Field-Conventicle; which occasion'd an Act, declaring them rebellious Assemblies, and made the Offence of the Preachers Capital, which our Author stiles a bloody Law: Tho' why a Pretence to Religion should sanctify Riots and Rebellions, and make them innocent, when none would scruple to stile them treasonable Insults on the Government, if Religion was out of the Case, I cannot conceive: And surely the Earl of *Tweedale* (tho' a Presbyterian) answer'd very justly, that the late Field-Conventicle, where such Multitudes assembled armed in a hostile Manner, compell'd the Legislature to pass this Law; and tho' at another time it might seem severe, the Safety of the Government now made it necessary.

necessary. But what hopeful Advocates had the poor Church at this time, in Dr. *Leighton* and *Gilbert Burnet*! that even the moderate Presbyterians should shew more Regard to the Protection of the Episcopal Clergy and the Establishment, than themselves: Therefore out of their own Mouths, from the Relations they have transmitted to us of their own Discourses and Actions, let the World judge of them.

Our Author tells us, that when the Lord *Tweedale*, and the rest of the Presbyterians in the Ministry, were soliciting for a Comprehension, (that is, to alter the Laws in Force, and in effect to establish Presbytery,) that his (*Gilbert Burnet's*) Opinion determin'd the Court in favour of the Presbyterians; and in short, it evidently appears that he was Duke *Landerdale's* Tool to bring these Things about; for he says of himself, *So my Principles and Zeal for the Church, and I know not what besides, were rais'd to make my Advice signify somewhat; and it was said, I WAS THE MAN that went entirely into Leighton's Maxims (of Comprehension).*

Had not our Author been Episcopal in his Habit, and in his Discourse sometimes, to serve a Turn, why should his Advice, who was then but a very young Parson, have had greater Regard paid to it than a Minister's of State? But, says my Lord *Landerdale*, and his Presbyterian Supporters, here is a bright young Fellow, acknowledg'd to be Episcopal; and the Opinion of such a one ought to be preferr'd not only to all the Bishops of Scotland, those High Church persecuting Prelates, but to that of any Presbyterian's whatsoever, who might be suppos'd to be interested in the Affair; and accordingly, HE WAS THE MAN, if we will believe him, who determin'd the Court thus to indulge the Dissenters.

And

And what effect their Concessions had upon the obstinate *Scotish* Presbyterians, we have already seen in part. Our Author himself adds, that their Teachers seemed to be subdued with an Ambition to render themselves popular, and *resolved to reject all Propositions, though they could not tell upon what Grounds to justify their Obstinacy; that they would not make one Step towards Peace, but rejected the Concessions that were made them, without giving any Reason for it, or offering any Expedient on their Part.* That upon this Behaviour of the Presbyterians, the former Administration should be applauded, and the Church recover its Credit, is very natural to suppose; but that the Church did any Thing more than defend their Persons and Properties from the Insults and Ravages of those pious Thieves and Robbers, by the Assistance of the Government, I am not apt to believe, even from what our Author himself says, in his *four Conferences*, p. 29. where he charges the Presbyterians with concealing those Robbers and Murderers, who had committed such Outrages upon the Clergy: For, he says, they often carried with them a great deal of Furniture and other Goods, which must have been conveyed to some adjacent Houses, but could never be found out, after many repeated Facts of that Nature, which would force the most charitable to suspect what he did not love to name. And p. 290, and 291. From these Things I may well assume, THAT THE PERSECUTION LIES MAINLY ON THE CONFORMISTS SIDE, WHO FOR THEIR OBEDIENCE TO THE LAWS, THUS LIE OPEN TO THE FURY OF THEIR ENEMIES.

As to our Author's Refusal both of *English* and *Scotish* Bishopricks so often; it is observable, that he did not *absolutely* renounce ever being made a Bishop, though some of his Adversaries have been so disingenuous

disingenuous to assert, that he peremptorily abjured Lawn Sleeves; and for that Reason, after he accepted the Bishoprick of *Salisbury*, they tell us, that he constantly wore *Scotch Cloth*. But however that Matter was, as it may very easily be demonstrated from this posthumous Work, that he was a Presbyterian in *Heart*, if not in *Habit*. I shall not contend with them, whether his Robes were made of Lawn or *Scotch Cloth*. But to proceed; the Reason our Author gives for not accepting a Bishoprick at this Time, ought not to be slightly passed over. It seems he apprehended there was likely to be a Turn, and whether Episcopacy or Presbytery was like to turn up Trump, he was in doubt, and therefore like a provident Statesman, kept himself upon the Reserve, till he could discover which Way Things would go. Had Presbytery been established, he had certainly a great deal of Merit to plead for the Services he had done that Cause; and should the Church be re-established, he hoped to persuade her Friends, that all these Condescensions were meant for her *real Good*. But unhappily for our Author the Church was again encouraged, and the Clergy were sufficiently convinced of his double Dealing, or rather his inveterate Malice against them. But however, we find he played his Game so well, that he worked himself into a good fat Bishoprick at last, which it seems was principally owing to his Skill in Backgammon.

I should not have made any Reflections upon the Account our Author gives us of his publishing Duke *Hamilton's* Memoirs, if he had not here taken an Opportunity again of aspersing the Memory of King *Charles* the First. He pretends indeed a wonderful Tenderneſs for his Failings, but at the same Time takes the most effectual Way to traduce him: He left out several Passages, he says, in the

King's

King's Letters, which expressed *much Weakness, Craft, and Passion*: This is what he directly charges him with, and we are to presume Abundance more, or else he might as well have produced the Passages themselves. Few People but the Disciples of Father *Burnet* would have found any Thing much worse than Weakness and Craft in this Prince (which by the Way, are Qualifications that seem something repugnant) and possibly, had the Letters been given us entire, both these Charges might have been found false.

And I am the rather enclined to think so, because this very Dr. *Burnet* in these Memoirs of Duke *Hamilton*, p. 93, says, that *his Majesty was so strictly conscientious, that he would not use an ambiguous Word*. Now how this is reconcileable with *Craft*, according to the common Acceptation of the Word, is past my Skill to discover, and therefore I recommend it to the Bishop's Friends, to do Justice to his Memory in this Particular.

Our Author seems here very proud of the great Offers made him by Duke *Lauderdale* of Bishoppicks, and what not, and tells us, whatever he asked for his Friends was granted; but after all, it appears even from himself, that this was upon Condition he would be his Lordship's Tool, and surrender himself up entirely to his Disposal; and whether he was capable of being bias'd by such Baits, though he has given us his Word that he was not to be corrupted, I leave his Readers to determine. We see how he flatter'd Lord *Lauderdale* after this Time, and had he not been discarded for his Treachery, that Lord might have held as great a Character possibly in this History, as we find in the Preface to the *four Conferences*. But he is now no more that great Prince, greater in his Mind than his Fortune; for when our Author wrote this

History, he lay under no particular Engagements to honour him. Then he could admire that long Tract of uninterrupted Tranquility the Nation had enjoyed under his happy Conduct, while in this History the same Duke Lauderdale is represented as haughty beyond Expression, abject to those he must stoop to, and imperious to all others, and so violently passionate, that he was often carried into Fits of Madness: That though he was in his Principles much against Popery and arbitrary Power, yet by a fatal Train of Passions and Interests he made Way for the former, and had almost established the latter; and by the Fury of his Behaviour heighten'd the Severity of his Ministry, which was liker the Cruelty of an Inquisition, than the Legality of Justice, so remarkably consistent is our Author; and such a Flow of Calumny and Detraction can he vent when heartily piqu'd, whatever Obligations he may be under.

As to the Account given by our Author of *Mitchell's* attempting to murder the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, he seems to express very little Abhorrence of the Fact; but on the contrary, says, that the Archbishop was so generally hated, that no Body would offer to apprehend the Assassin, and by Consequence they must approve the Fact; and I appeal to all the World, if our Author himself does not sufficiently express his Enmity to the Archbishop in this Work, and consequently might be suspected of approving the Fact, as well as his Countrymen, though he went hypocritically to congratulate the Archbishop upon his Escape. Very well did our Saviour observe, that *he who hateth his Brother is a Murderer*; but far be it from me to believe, that the whole City of *Edinburgh* so much approved the impious Attempt, as willingly to let the Assassin escape, as their Countryman our Author does more than insinuate. He might speak for himself,

himself, and his Party ; but it is hard to charge a People in general with countenancing the Murder of an Archbishop and a Privy Counsellor in their Streets at Noon-Day ; and there was a Time when it was for his Purpose, that even our Author could speak of this notorious Attempt with that Detestation it deserved, as may be seen in his *four Conferences*, p. 292. where he says, let me tell you, that these Things are very justifiable from the Principles your Friends go upon ; for if our Conformity be so notorious a Wickedness, and such a plain Breach of Covenant, in the Punishment of which the Magistrate is backward, then let every one compare the Doctrine of the late Pamphlets, and declare, whether by the Rules laid down in them, any private Persons upon Heroical Excitation, may not execute Vengeance on these who are guilty of notorious Backsliding and Defection. And *what may not be expected of this Nature from him, who hesitates to call the invading the Bishop with a Pistol an accursed Act, and will only condemn it as rash Precipitation, and of evil Example*, and that not simply neither ? but all Circumstances being considered, and their Exigences duly balanced, make me apprehend, that his greatest Quarrel with that Deed was, that it mist the designed Effect, and so was done inadvertently, or too publicly, or upon some such particular Ground, which may have occasion'd this Miscarriage. Let me take the Freedom to tell you, that the whole Mystery of Jesuitism doth not discover a Principle more destructive of the Peace and Order of Mankind, than this Doctrine of the Lawfulness of private Persons executing Vengeance on gross Offenders, where the Transgression is judged signal, the Magistrate is judged remiss, and the Actors pretend an heroick Excitation. This puts a Sword into a Madman's Hands, and arms the whole Multitude, and is worse

than theirs who will have such Deeds warranted by some supreme Ecclesiastical Power, or at least by a *Confessarius* and Director of the Conscience. Indeed this may justly possess the Minds of all that hear it with Horror, it being a direct Contradiction to the moral Law, and an overturning of all the Societies of Mankind, and Laws of Nature.

I can't but observe farther, that if Dr. *Sharpe* was discovered by King *Charles* to be that vile, hypocritical, abject Wretch our Author makes him, it is very strange he should not only continue him in his See, when it was in his Power to remove him, as he had done Archbishop *Burnet*, but call him to the Privy Council, and now send for him to Court to confer new Favours on him: If King *Charles* so condemned and hated vicious unworthy Clergymen, as our Author elsewhere insinuates, it is amazing to me, that he should thus encourage and countenance Dr. *Sharpe*, on whom our Author has charged such a Multitude of notorious Crimes, that one would think it impossible any one Man could be guilty of them: For my part, there appear so many Instances of Gentlemen misrepresented in their Characters in this Work, that when our Author begins to asperse any Person, I cannot help thinking that Man has something very deserving in him, and by his speaking with that Malice and Contempt of so many great Men, so much his Superiors in all Respects, he will at length in his own Words, draw a lasting Disgrace upon himself.

ABRIDGMENT.

Our Author having given us a large Relation of the State of *Scotland*, changes the Scene, and resumes his

his Account of *English* Affairs: He tells us, that the Court apprehending the Parliament would give no further Supplies, the Duke of *Buckingham* represented to the King, that now the Time was come that he might revenge himself on the *Dutch* for their Attempt upon *Chatham*, and be freed from the Restraint of a House of Commons: And he prevail'd upon the King so far as to send over Sir *Ellis Leightoun* to the Court of *France*, to enter into a new Alliance, and a new War with the *Dutch*, as Sir *Ellis* himself told our Author.

The Duchess of *Orleans*, the King's Sister, was thereupon sent over by the Court of *France* to her Brother the King of *England*, who met her at *Dover*: The King could deny her nothing, our Author says; and tho' his Design was to have begun with *England*, introduc'd Popery here, and subdu'd his Subjects first; she diverted him from that, and persuaded him to begin with the Conquest of *Holland*, and upon the Success of that the other would be an easy Work. This Account of that Negotiation, our Author tells us, was printed at *Paris*, twelve Years afterwards, by the Abbot *Primi*; whereupon the Lord *Preston*, the King's Envoy to that Court, complain'd of it as prejudicial to his Master; and the Book was suppress'd, and the Writer sent to the *Bastile*: But as he had taken it out of the Papers of Monsieur *Tellier's* Office, our Author says, there is little Reason to doubt of the Truth of the Thing.

This Voyage prov'd fatal to the Duchess of *Orleans*, our Author observes; for the Duke having heard of some Pieces of Gallantry, which he did not approve, order'd a Glass of Poison to be given her at her Return; of which she died a few Hours after, in great Torments. And our Author takes upon him to suggest that her Royal Highness was

not altogether innocent; nay, he proceeds to give us several Instances of a very light and criminal Conduct.

Upon the Death of Madam, the Duke of *Buckingham* was sent to *France*, our Author says, under Pretence of carrying Compliments of Condolance; but really, to finish the Treaty above-mention'd: And the King of *France* being appriz'd of his Vanity, caress'd him in such a manner, that he went into the Interest of that Court without Reserve; tho' he protested to our Author, we are told, that he never consented the *French* Fleet should come into our Seas, though he was offer'd forty thousand Pounds to persuade the King to consent to it: And he believ'd the Lord *Arlington* took the Money, because the King yielded to it at last, tho' he had express'd so much Uneasiness when it was first propos'd. But *Shaftsbury* blamed the Duke of *Buckingham* for it; for, as he told our Author, he had sent him a peremptory Instruction from the King, to break off the Treaty, if the *French* insisted on joining our Fleet; and yet *Buckingham* gave way to it. But the Duke of *York* assur'd our Author there was no Money given to corrupt our Ministers, but that *France* could not possibly supply *England* with the annual Sum that was demanded, unless we took a Squadron of Ships in part of it; and it was at length agreed that the *French* should pay King *Charles* three hundred and fifty thousand Pounds a Year, during the War, and join our Fleet with a *French* Squadron, and that *England* should fall upon the *Dutch* by Sea, while *France* invaded them by Land; and the *Dutch* Dominions were to be divided, *England* was to have *Zealand*, and the *French* King all the rest, except *Holland*, which was to be given the Prince of *Orange*, if he would come into the Alliance; and it was to remain a trading Country, but to be

be allow'd no Capital Ships. The King of *Denmark* was also to have been invited into the Alliance, and to be put in Possession of the Town of *Hamburgh*, on which he had long fix'd his Eyes; but he wou'd not accept the Invitation. *Lockhart* was also sent to the Courts of *Brandenburgh* and *Lunenburgh*, to propose an Alliance with them; or at least, to prevent their opposing the Measures *France* and *England* were taking; but he did not succeed: And when he found what a Negotiation he was engag'd in, he grew very uneasy, tho' the blackest Part of it was not trusted to him, as appear'd by his Instructions, which our Author says he read after his Death; yet he apprehended what they were about, and he thinks this affected him so deeply, that it contributed to his Death, which happen'd two Years after.

A War being resolv'd on, Excuses were to be found for it, our Author observes, for though the *French* King only declar'd that he was so ill satisfy'd with the Conduct of the *Dutch*, that it was not consistent with his Glory to bear it any longer; yet it was thought decent that the *English* should assign some better Reasons for a Rupture; and therefore it was said that we had some Pretensions on *Surinam*, which were not satisfy'd; and that the States harbour'd *English* Traitors who fled from Justice, and that Medals and Pictures were made in *Holland* to the Dishonour of his Majesty: But an Accident happen'd the Year before, which gave a better Colour for a Rupture than any of the above-mention'd Particulars; the *Dutch* Fleet lying upon the Coast of *England*, refus'd, it seems, to strike Sail to one of the King's Yachts which pass'd by; and tho' the *Dutch* alledg'd, they never refus'd striking to a Man of War, they thought that Honour not due to so inconsiderable a Vessel. Our Author says he was then at Court, and could see Joy in the Looks of

them that were in the Secret: *Seldon* had indeed, in his *Mare clausum*, he says, carried this Matter so high that he made it one of the principal Rights of the Crown of *England*, to demand this Compliment, as an Acknowledgment of the Empire of the four Seas: But the *Dutch*, our Author tells us, offer'd any Satisfaction for the future in this Matter, but would not send over their Admiral as a Criminal.

In the mean while the States enter'd into an Alliance with the Emperor, *Spain*, *Denmark*, the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, and the Duke of *Lunenburgh*.

The Court of *England* were busied in contriving to raise Money to carry on the War; and the King being already much in Debt, in order to preserve his Credit, had dealt with some Bankers, to whom he assign'd over his Revenue; by which they made a great Advantage, the King paying them eight per Cent. and they paying but six for the Money they took up. The King had in some Proclamations, our Author tells us, given his Faith that he would continue to make good his Assignments, till the whole Debt was paid, which now amounted to near one Million and a half; but it being propos'd to stop these Payments for a Year, in order to raise Money for the War, he comply'd with the Advice, which was ascrib'd chiefly to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who excus'd it to our Author, by telling him what Advantage the Bankers had made by their Extortions. The Lady *Lauderdale* also wrote a long Account to our Author of shutting up the *Exchequer*, as both just and necessary: However, he observes that the Bankers were broke, and Multitudes of those who had trusted their Money with them were ruin'd by this dishonourable and perfidious Action; and as the King only had his own Revenue restor'd him by this means, it was found necessary

to raise further Supplies for the War; and tho' by the Peace of *Breda* it was provided, that no Merchant Ship should be taken till six Months after a Declaration of War, a Squadron was order'd to lie in wait for the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet, and intercept them in their Way Home; but their Convoy happen'd to play their Part so well, and were so luckily favour'd by a Mist, that they made their Escape, and the few Ships that were taken, were hardly worth the Powder that was spent in the Action. This our Author exclaims against as such a Breach of Faith as *Mahometans* or Pirates would have been asham'd of; and *Holmes* who commanded the Squadron, was order'd to say that the *Dutch* refus'd to strike Sail, to excuse it: But this was so false, our Author says, and there were so many Witnesses to the contrary, that he had not the Impudence to affirm it.

To crown all, we are told, a Declaration was issued for suspending the penal Laws, both against Papists and Dissenters; to which the Lord Keeper *Bridgman* refusing to put the Great Seal, he was turn'd out, and the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was made Lord Chancellor, the Lord *Clifford* Treasurer, *Arlington* and *Lauderdale* had the Garter conferr'd on them; and these, with the Duke of *Buckingham*, were call'd the Cabal, from their close Contrivances, as well as from the initial Letters of their Names and Titles: They were all brib'd by *France* privately; and besides receiv'd from the *French* Ambassador his Master's Picture set in Diamonds, to the Value of three thousand Pounds each: Thus, says he, was the Nation, our Religion, and the King's Faith and Honour, set to Sale. And the Lord *Shaftsbury*, to recommend himself further to the Court, advis'd the issuing Writs for electing Members to serve in Parliament in the Intervals of Sessions; for which the

the House of Commons intended to have Impeach'd him, if he had not had the Foresight to prevent it.

Upon the issuing a Declaration for a Toleration, the Court endeavour'd to procure Addresses of Thanks from the Dissenters; but few were so blind, we are told, not to see the Intention of it; and yet he immediately adds, *that the Presbyterians came in a Body*, and Dr. Manton, in their Name, return'd the King Thanks for it. They had also an annual Pension of fifty Pounds assign'd to most of them, and an hundred Pounds *per Annum* to the Chief of the Party; but Baxter sent his Pension back again, and would not accept of it: However, most of them took it, as Dr. Stillingfleet assur'd our Author, and told him that Pool, who wrote the *Synopsis*, in particular, confess'd he had his fifty Pounds a Year. Thus, says our Author, the Court hir'd the Dissenters to be silent, and most of them were so, *and very compliant*: On the contrary, the Episcopal Clergy every where preach'd against Popery, and magnify'd the Laws; which alarm'd the Court and the whole Nation, and the King complain'd to Sheldon, that this was done on purpose to inflame the People, and alienate their Affections from him. Whereupon, he says, Sheldon consulted his Clergy, to consider what Answer to make the King, if he was press'd any further on that Head; and Tillotson thereupon suggested, that it would not be improper to say, that since the King profess'd himself a Protestant, it would be without Precedent, if he should prohibit the Clergy to preach in Defence of that Religion; but the King never mention'd the Matter more.

R E M A R K S.

The whole Contrivance of the *Dutch War* is here first ascribed to the Duke of *Bucks* by our Author: *He represented to his Majesty, Anno 1671: That there being no more Money to be expected from the Parliament, NOW was the Time to be revenged upon the Dutch, and make himself absolute,* Burnet's Hist. p. 300. and Sir *Ellis Leightoun* was sent to *France* to court that King to enter into an Alliance against the *Dutch*.

But surely the Editors of this History are a little out in their Chronology, who have made this Advice to be given in the Year 1671; for the *Duchess of Orleans* came over the 15th of *May*, 1670, to manage this pretended Treaty, which is almost a Year before the Advice is said to be given. On the other Hand, if this Advice was given in 1670, and Sir *Ellis Leightoun* was sent to *France* in pursuance of it, and this Negotiation finished by the *Duchess of Orleans* in *May*, 1670, they have given so very short a Time for the Transaction of this Affair, that I may affirm, if there was no other Objection to be made to this fine Story, it is highly improbable, if not impossible, it can be true, as it is here related, in all its Circumstances; for the Parliament rose but the 11th of *April* 1670, and though the Duke of *Bucks* might propose this Project some little Time after the Parliament was up, it cannot be supposed, but several Consultations must be had, before a Thing of that Importance was undertaken, and a Minister sent to treat with the *French King* about it; some Time must be taken up in negotiating this Affair at the *French Court*, and more in Preparations for her Royal Highness's Voyage, with that
splendid

splendid Equipage she is said to have been attended; and the Wind was very favourable, if it did not hinder her Embarkation a Moment.

It is indeed hardly credible, that all these Affairs could have been transacted, and her Royal Highness have arrived at *Dover* within the Space of a Month after the Rising of the Parliament; for the good Bishop does not pretend there was one Word said of this Affair, till after the Parliament was up.

But another Objection to this Project being formed by the Duke of *Bucks*, or any other of our *English* Ministers, is, that it appears by Bishop *Kennet*, and other Writers, that the Duchess of *Orleans* came to propose this Alliance to King *Charles*, and that it was at her great Importunity and Solicitations that the King came into it; and it is said farther by our other Historians, as well as our Author, that the *French* advanced three hundred and fifty thousand Pound per Annum to King *Charles*, besides vast Sums to his Ministers, to induce them to come into it. Now if we were so extreamly forward, as to send over a Minister to make the first Overtures, what Occasion had the *French* King to be at that Expence, and use such Arts to prevail upon our Court to come into his Measures? When these Particulars are well weighed, every impartial Reader must conclude, that this Relation of Bishop *Burnet's* cannot be true in every Part, and if it be apparently false in some Instances, it is very natural to suppose it may be so in others, especially where we have no better Authority than his own Oath for the Truth of them, and they have a Tendency to serve his Party.

But it may not be thought very material by which side the Treaty was set on Foot, if such a League was concluded, namely, to destroy the Dutch, make the King of England arbitrary, and introduce Popery.

The

The principal Enquiry will be therefore, whether there ever was such a League made between the two Kings. I must own, that both the Right Reverend Bishop *Kennet*, and the Reverend Mr. *Echard* from him, but all from Abbot *Primi*, do tell us, such a Confederacy was entered into; but it is observable, that this Book of *Primi's* was not printed till twelve Years after this Treaty, and this is the first and only Account we have of that Matter, which is exceeding strange, if the Women had the transacting of it: And our Author acknowledges, the Author was sent to Gaol upon the Complaint of the *English* Minister at that Court, and that the Book was burnt as an infamous and scandalous Libel; and I have this farther Objection to that Account, that our Historians are not agreed at this Day, whether this was a verbal Treaty or a written one, which is strange, if it was registred in the publick Offices in *France*, as our Author suggests. Surely this might have been as easily discovered as the particular Articles; for Men to pretend they have an Abstract of a Treaty from a publick Office, and yet be ignorant whether it was a verbal or written Treaty, to me sounds very oddly. But farther, the subsequent Peace that was made, plainly discovers that the King had no Design to make a full Conquest of the *Dutch*; for not a Whig Writer of them all but will agree, that if King *Charles* had continued to assist the *French* King, when he had obtained those remarkable Successes in this War, the *Dutch* had been no more a free People.

There is no doubt, but that his Majesty did determine to humble the *Dutch*, for the repeated Affronts offered to his Person, and their Encroachments on our Trade, and that he did enter into an Alliance with *France* for that Purpose; but he that could graft so many destructive Projects upon so slender
a Foun-

a Foundation, had certainly a very fruitful Invention, as well as a very good Will to the Cause; and at last, if there was any Thing deserved to be complained of in this Treaty, it is observable, that it was negotiated by the Cabal, three of whom (out of five) *viz.* *Buck's, Lauderdale, and Shaftsbury*, were the principal Patrons of the Dissenters, and the other two were Papists, so that here was not one Member of the Church of *England* concerned in this destructive Scheme: If it was one, the Presbyterians and the Papists were the only Persons concerned in the Negotiation; and if the Presbyterians can be supposed to be in a Design to make a Conquest of *Holland*, and introduce Popery and Slavery in *England*, then may some Credit be given to our Author's relation of this Matter.

The next Complaint is, that the War was unjust, for that the *Dutch* had given us no manner of Provocation to fall out with them; but if the Facts are true which are recited in the Declaration of War, as I see no manner of Reason to doubt, surely we did not want *Pretences* to call the *Dutch* to an account. That Declaration, so far as it is material in this Dispute, is as follows, (*viz.*) “Immediately
 “ upon our Restoration to our Crowns, the first
 “ Work we undertook was the establishing of Peace,
 “ and the settling a good Correspondence between
 “ us and our Neighbours; and in particular, our
 “ Care was to conclude a strict League with the
 “ States-General of the *United Provinces*, upon such
 “ equal Terms as would certainly not have been
 “ broken, *if any Obligations could have kept them*
 “ *within the Bounds of Friendship and Justice.* This
 “ League was maintained inviolable on our Part;
 “ but in the Year 1664, we were stirr'd up by the
 “ Complaints of our People, and the unanimous Vote
 “ of both Houses of Parliament, finding it a vain At-
 “ tempt

“ tempt to endeavour the Prosperity of our King-
 “ doms by peaceable Ways at Home, while our
 “ Subjects were still exposed to the Injuries and
 “ Oppressions of the States Abroad: That whole
 “ Summer was spent in Negotiations and Endeavours on our Side, to bring them to reasonable
 “ Terms, which notwithstanding all we could do
 “ proved at length ineffectual; for the more we
 “ pursued them with friendly Propositions, the
 “ more obstinately they kept off from agreeing
 “ with us. Upon this ensued the War in the Year
 “ 1665, and continued till the Year 1667; in all
 “ which Time our Victories and their Losses were
 “ memorable enough, to put them in Mind of being more faithful to their Leagues for the future;
 “ but instead of that, the Peace was no sooner made,
 “ but they returned to their usual Custom of breaking Articles, and supplanting our Trade. For instance, the States were particularly engaged in an
 “ Article of the Treaty of *Breda*, to send Commissioners to us at *London* about the Regulation of
 “ our Trade at the *East-Indies*; but they were so far from doing it upon that Obligation, that
 “ when we sent over our Ambassador to put them
 “ in Mind of it, he could not in three Years Time
 “ get from them any Satisfaction in the material
 “ Points, nor a Forbearance of the Wrongs which
 “ our Subjects received in those Parts.

“ In the *West-Indies* they went a little farther,
 “ for by an Article in the same Treaty we were to
 “ restore *Surinam* into their Hands; and by Articles upon the Place confirmed by that Treaty,
 “ they were to give Liberty to all our Subjects in
 “ that Colony, to transport themselves and Estates
 “ into any other of our Plantations. In pursuance
 “ of this Agreement we delivered up the Place, and
 “ yet they detained all our Men in it, only Major
 “ *Banister*

“ Banister they sent away Prisoner, for but desiring
 “ to remove according to the Articles. Our Am-
 “ bassador complaining of this Behaviour, after
 “ two Years Solicitation obtained an Order for the
 “ Performance of those Articles; but when we sent
 “ Commissioners, and two Ships to bring our Men
 “ away, *the Hollanders, according to their former Prac-*
 “ *tice in the Business of Poleroon (for about forty Years*
 “ *together) sent private Orders contrary to those they had*
 “ *owned to us in publick,* and so the only effect of
 “ our Commissioners Journey thither, was to bring
 “ away some few of the poorest of our Subjects,
 “ and the Prayers and Cries of the most consider-
 “ able and wealthiest of them for Relief out of that
 “ Captivity. After this we made our Complaints
 “ by our Letter in *August* last to the States-Gener-
 “ al, wherein we desired an Order to their Go-
 “ vernors there, for the full Observance of those
 “ Articles, yet to this Time we could never receive
 “ one Word of Answer or Satisfaction. But it
 “ is no Wonder that they venture at these Outrages
 “ upon our Subjects in remote Parts, when they
 “ dare be so bold with our Royal Person, and the
 “ Honour of the Nation, so near us as in their own
 “ Country, *there being scarce a Town within their*
 “ *Territories, that is not filled with abusive Pictures,*
 “ *and false Historical Medals and Pillars, some of which*
 “ *have been exposed to view, by Command of the States*
 “ *themselves,* and in the very Time when we were
 “ joined with them in united Counsels, for the
 “ Support of the triple League, and the Peace of
 “ *Christendom.* This alone were Cause sufficient for
 “ our Displeasure, and the Resentment of all our
 “ Subjects: But we are urged to it by Considera-
 “ tions yet nearer to us, than what only relate to
 “ our self, the Safety of our Trade, upon which the
 “ Wealth and Prosperity of our People depend; the

“ Preservation of them Abroad from Violence and
 “ Oppression, and the *Hollanders* daring to affront
 “ us almost within our very Ports, are the Things
 “ which move our just Indignation against them.

“ The Right of the Flag is so ancient, that it
 “ was one of the first Prerogatives of our Royal
 “ Predecessors, and ought to be the last from which
 “ this Kingdom should ever depart. It was never
 “ questioned, and it was expressly acknowledged in
 “ the Treaty of *Breda*, and yet this last Summer it
 “ was not only violated by their Commanders at
 “ Sea, and that Violation afterwards justified at the
 “ Hague; but it was also represented by them in
 “ most Courts of *Christendom*, as ridiculous for us
 “ to demand. *An ungrateful Insolence, that they should*
 “ *contend with us about the Dominion of these Seas,*
 “ *who even in the Reign of our Royal Father (in the*
 “ *Years 1635, 1636, and 1637) thought it an Obliga-*
 “ *tion to be permitted to fish in them, by taking of*
 “ *Licenses, and for a Tribute, and who owe their being*
 “ *now in a Condition of making this Dispute to the Pro-*
 “ *tection of our Ancestors, and the Valour and Blood of*
 “ *their Subjects.* Notwithstanding all these Provo-
 “ cations, we patiently expected Satisfaction, not
 “ being willing to expose the Peace of *Christendom*
 “ for our particular Resentments, while they ceased
 “ not on their Parts to endeavour to provoke the
 “ most Christian King against us, of which they
 “ thought themselves so secure, that for above these
 “ twelve Months their Ministers here have threat-
 “ en'd us with it. At length hearing nothing from
 “ them, we sent another Ambassador to them, who
 “ after several pressing Memorials in our Name
 “ could receive no Answer, till after he had decla-
 “ red his Revocation: Then they offered a Paper to
 “ this Effect; that in this Conjunction they would
 “ condescend to strike to us, if we would assist them

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“ against the *French*, but upon Condition that it should
 “ never be taken for a Precedent hereafter to their Pre-
 “ judice. Since the return of our said Ambassador,
 “ they have sent an extraordinary one to us, who
 “ in most extraordinary manner has given us to
 “ understand, that he can offer us no Satisfaction till
 “ he hath sent back to his Masters: Wherefore de-
 “ spairing now of any good Effect of a farther
 “ Treaty, we are compelled to take up Arms in
 “ Defence of the ancient Prerogative of our Crown,
 “ and the Glory and Safety of our Kingdoms:
 “ And we put our Trust in God, that he will give
 “ us his Assistance in this our just Undertaking,
 “ since we had no Way left to defend the People
 “ from the Artifices of that Nation in Peace, but
 “ by the Valour of our Subjects in War.

All that Bishop *Burnet* and our Historians say to
 this, is, that the *Dutch* denied the Charge, but they
 none of them shew that it was false in any one Ar-
 ticle; and for my part, I have that Opinion of my
 Country, that I look upon the solemn Declarations
 of our Kings, made by the Advice of their Coun-
 cil, to deserve much more Credit than those of the
Dutch, who 'tis manifest by their treacherous un-
 just Practices, have despoiled us of the most valu-
 able Branches of our Trade, and are governed by
 no other Principle but their Interest.

Well, but if the War was never so just in itself,
 it was not justly begun: We were guilty of such
 a Breach of Faith in falling upon the *Smyrna* Fleet
 before War was declared, as even Mahometans or
 Pirates would have been ashamed of. Now, I
 must observe, as I have already, that the Cabal who
 had the Direction of this Affair, if ever there were
 any Directions given about it, were most of them
 our Author's Friends; but whether their Principles

were

were preferable to those of Mahometans or Pyrates, I shall not take upon me to determine; but thus much is evident, that they plainly put this Matter upon a different Foot than our Author does, by the Account that was given of it by Authority, which was exceeding silly, if it was not true; because the Thing might have been disproved in a Week's Time, if it had not been true, by a thousand Witnesses: And there is this farther to be said, as to the Improbability of the Design of making Prizes of the *Dutch* Fleet, that a much stronger Squadron would have been appointed, one would have thought, for that Service, if this had been a premeditated Design; for it appears, that Sir *Robert Holmes* had but five Ships with him, and those but Frigats, by the following Account.

“ *Whitehall, Wednesday March 13.* Five of his
 “ Majesty's Frigats cruizing by the Isle of *Wight*,
 “ met with the *Dutch* Fleet of *Smyrna* Men, and
 “ others, of about fifty Sail, convoyed by six Men
 “ of War; and of their Merchant Men twenty at
 “ least carried between twenty and forty Guns a
 “ piece: When our Frigats came near them, we shot
 “ to make them strike and lower their Topsails, which
 “ the *Dutch* refusing to do, our Frigats shot thro'
 “ and thro' them; and though they then lowered
 “ their Topsails, yet they refused to strike, upon
 “ which the Fight began. This happened about three
 “ of the Clock that Afternoon, and continued until
 “ Night, at which Time three more of our Frigats
 “ came in: *Thursday* the next Morning the Fight
 “ begun again, and continued all that Day: In the
 “ Evening were taken five of their richest Merchant
 “ Men, and Captain *John Holmes* in the *Gloucester*
 “ boarded their Rear Admiral, and took her, but
 “ she was so shattered and torn, that she sunk
 “ within

“ within a few Hours in his Possession. This
 “ Squadron was commanded by Sir *Robert Holmes*
 “ in the *St. Michael*; the Earl of *Ossory* was Vice
 “ Admiral in the *Resolution*, and Sir *Fretchville*
 “ *Hollis* Rear Admiral in the *Cambridge*: Captain
 “ *Legg* commanded the *Fairfax*, Captain *Elliot* the
 “ *Tork*, Captain *Fowlis* the *Diamond*, and Captain
 “ *Watson* the *Success*, who all behaved themselves
 “ with great Gallantry.

Surely, in our Author's Words, this was the
 most *impudent* Assertion that ever had the Sanction
 of publick Authority, if it was false; for so many
 Gentlemen of Quality are here named to have com-
 manded the several Ships engaged, that the Govern-
 ment could not be rendred more contemptible than
 it must have been on their Return to *London*, if
 the Relation was not true; and methinks, one prin-
 cipal Reason of naming the Commanders so parti-
 cularly, seems to be, that People might be satisfied
 of the Truth of the Facts from them. What could
 it have availed the Government, to have procured
 Sir *Robert Holmes* to have affirmed the Truth of
 this Story, when the Earl of *Ossory*, and so many
 other Persons of Honour were upon the Spot, and
 could have contradicted him?

And give me leave here to observe, upon how
 very slender Evidence we are invited to believe
 many Things in this History. Our Author tells
 us, that when News came to Court, that the *Dutch*
 refused to strike to the Yatch, which brought over
 the Ambassador's Family, he happened to be there,
 and he could see Joy in the Looks of them that were in
 the Secret; and this is to pass for Demonstration,
 that the Design was laid. Now if our Author ei-
 ther happen'd to be mistaken who was in the Secret,
 or if they should happen to be elated upon some
 other

other Account, then all this fine Presumption drops to the Ground at once: But this is not the only Instance of this kind of Proof; we may remember, in the Reasons that he gives why the Duke of York did not pursue the *Dutch*, after the Victory he obtain'd, one is, That *Pen said, they must prepare for hotter Work; which, it was fancied, made an Impression on the Duke.* And again, the Duke of York seeing certain Persons of Quality kill'd near him, the Earl of *Mountague* believ'd, he was struck. These are brought as Proofs of the Duke's Want of Courage. I repeat these Instances here, to shew upon how very slender Evidence we are requir'd to believe, and how exceeding credulous an Author we have to deal with, admitting he relates nothing but what was told him; and yet was this Gentleman's Authority once much rely'd upon, I find by our Historians, Bishop *Kennet* especially: It was indeed before they had seen this posthumous Work; they will not probably be so entirely resign'd to his Opinion for the future, when they find upon what trifling incompetent Evidence it is often grounded.

As to the Project of shutting up the *Exchequer*, I have nothing to say to it; if it was so *perfidious an Act* as our Author would have it believ'd, it seems *Shaftsbury*, the great Patron of the Dissenters, was the Author of the Advice, and *Lauderdale* and the rest of the Cabal approv'd of it; even that *Lauderdale* whom our Author, in the Preface to his *four Conferences*, says so many fine Things of the Justice of his Administration; and if he was that Villain he would here make him, he will derive no great Honour upon himself, who was his Creature and Tool. Indeed our Author makes himself so considerable in this Place, that he brings in the *Duchess of Lauderdale* and *Shaftsbury* excusing the Matter to him, or rather shewing the Necessi-

ty and Justice of shutting up the *Exchequer*; but I leave it to the Friends of these Gentlemen to justify their Conduct. As for the King, he must have been a very happy Prince, never to have been abus'd by his Ministers! but thus much is observable, if he had not listen'd too much to this Cabal of Dissenters and Papists, the Parliament would never have suffer'd him to have been reduc'd to these Extremities; and had these Things been transacted during a Tory Ministry, the Brethren might have upbraided them with it; but I believe they will find as many destructive Schemes practis'd under a Whig Administration, as ever they have observ'd when the Establish'd Church has been countenanc'd; and if there was any Villany in this Transaction, they must take the Shame of it to themselves.

As to the Declaration for suspending the Penal Laws, our Author seems much to disapprove of it, and tells us, it being an illegal arbitrary Act, the Lord Keeper *Bridgman* refus'd to put the Great Seal to it, and was thereupon turn'd out. But here his solemn Appeals to Heaven for the Truth of what he says, are again made a Jest of by his Adversaries; for it happens, very unluckily, that our Histories, as well as Records, assure us that the Declaration for suspending the Penal Laws was publish'd the 15th of *March*, 167 $\frac{1}{2}$, and Sir *Orlando Bridgman* resign'd the Seals the 17th of *November*, 1672, being above eight Months after the Declaration was publish'd; and the Reason given for his Resignation, is his great Age and Infirmities.

To proceed; our Author tells us that great Endeavours were us'd by the Court, to procure Addresses of Thanks from the Dissenters; and that the Dissenters saw thro' the Design; namely, that it was intended only as an Engine to introduce Popery and Arbitrary Power; I was a little surpriz'd he should assure

assure us, immediately afterwards, that notwithstanding they *knew* this was the Design, *the Presbyterians came in a Body, with Dr. Manton at their Head, to return the King Thanks for this very Declaration*, which was to do all this Mischief: And he tells us further, that most of the Dissenting Teachers *took Pensions of the Government to hold their Tongues, and to connive at these destructive Measures they plainly saw the Court were taking*. Could our Author have cast a severer Reflection on his greatest Enemies, than he has unhappily thrown here upon his dearest Friends the Dissenters; that they were content to be brib'd, and to go into Measures *with the Papists*, for the subverting our Religion, Laws and Liberties, and introduce Popery and Arbitrary Power; that he should make them the Tools of an abandon'd Ministry, to effect the worst Designs? But I leave the Brethren to make further Animadversions on the Unkindness of their Friend.

There is one Observation, however, that cannot be pass'd by; and that is, that when any vile Design is to be advanced, the Dissenters are generally taken into Favour, and the true Sons of the Church brow-beaten, and discountenanc'd; and what an Honour is it to the Church of *England*, that in this Time of *imminent Danger*, this remarkable Crisis, as our Author calls it, when Popery and Arbitrary Power were breaking in upon us like a Flood, they bravely stemm'd the Tide, unanimously asserted their Principles, and appear'd in Defence of their Religion and Laws; while the sneaking Fanaticks did not only comply and submit, but *courted the Ministry that they knew intended to enslave them!*

But to examine a little what our Author says of the *Duchess of Orleans*; he tells us (what several others have pretended to guess before him) that she was poison'd by the Duke, and does not stick to in-

sinuate that she deserv'd it; for he informs us of two Gallants that she had at once, and that she even publicly avow'd her Passion for the Marquis *Des Vardes*; but had any one ask'd our good charitable Bishop what Colour he had thus to asperse a noble Lady, a Branch of our Royal Family, and leave the vile Insinuation upon Record, probably a very slender Proof, added to that Prejudice he every where expresses towards the Royal Family, would have serv'd his Turn: The Surmises of a Valer, or a Chamber-maid, or perhaps his own malicious GuesSES, are the only Foundation for the taking away the Reputation of so great a Princess. Our Author seems entirely to have forgot that divine Precept of our Saviour's, *Judge not, that ye be not judged*: And till we see better Evidence to support the Calumny, than this formal Story of the Count *Des Vardes*, surely the Memory of this innocent Princess will not suffer, in the Opinion of the Wise; It has so much of the Air of a Novel, that the very reading of it must be a sufficient Confutation; but in this our Author must be allow'd to act uniformly. He had before endeavour'd to blast the Reputation of her Sister the Princess of *Orange*; and had King *Charles I.* had forty Daughters more, such was his Malice or Prejudice to his Family, that they would all of them, probably, have had the like Aspersions cast upon them by this charitable Divine. If there be any thing that looks like a Proof of the Calumny cast on the Duchess of *Orleans*, it is her calling on *Treville* (whom we are told was another of her Gallants) in her last Agonies: But what Assurance could our Author have of this? how many Hands must it pass thro' before he could be acquainted with it? for if we are to suppose he had it from *Treville* himself, he was not with her when she dy'd, it is to be presum'd; and if he had
hinted

hinted as much (which is hardly to be believ'd, because he must have laid himself open to his Royal Highness's Resentment) should the Word of a vain *Frenchman*, or of some of his Creatures, who had a Mind to sooth his Vanity, be Ground sufficient to record the vile Aspersions in a History, the Truth whereof is attested by the Author's Oath? But 'tis observable, the Bishop does not say that the Count *de Treville*, or any of his Dependants, ever told him any such thing, but that *he knew the Count well*; and from thence we are to *presume* all the rest, and that the Count communicated his Amours to Parson *Burnet*, from one End to the other: But surely this young Protestant Parson was not his Confessor; and if he was not, it does not seem very probable that a Man whom he tells us had forsaken the World, and confid'd himself to a Cloister, to atone for this very Sin, should afterwards brag of it to a Clergyman who was a Foreigner: Surely, if he had receiv'd Favours from a Princess, this was very little like a Man of Honour, or a Christian, much less like a true Penitent, as our Author pretends he was. I have dwelt the longer upon this, to shew upon how very slight Evidence our Author will asperse any Branch of that Royal Family, to whom, according to his own Relation, he had greater Obligations than any Clergyman of his Time, *being offer'd, as he says, any thing he would ask, for his Friends or himself, in either Kingdom*; and who was, according to his own Account, admitted to the most intimate Confidence and Familiarity with our Kings of the *Stuart* Race. If the Facts that he has related were true, surely he has shewn himself the most ungrateful Wretch that ever *Britain* bred! And if they were not true, which is much more probable, I leave it to the World to reflect what Character he himself deserves.

ABRIDG.

ABRIDGMENT.

The Duchess of York dy'd a Papist, our Author tells us, in the Year 1672: She was very little be- lov'd or lamented, he says; her Haughtiness had created her many Enemies, and her Change of Religion made her Friends reckon her Death rather a Blessing than a Loss at that time.

Here our Author digresses to give us an Account of the several Crisis's under which the Protestant Religion has been brought; the first, he says, was when *Charles V.* defeated the Duke of *Saxony*, and subdued the *Smalcaldick* League, in which the Strength of the Protestant Religion did then consist. The second Crisis he assigns, was towards the End of Queen *Mary's* Reign, when the Protestant Religion seem'd extinguisht in *England*, and the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* design'd a Peace, that they might be at Leisure to extirpate Heresy out of their Dominions; but Queen *Mary* dying, and being succeeded by Queen *Elizabeth*, and the *French* King accidentally kill'd, entirely spoil'd the Scheme. The third Crisis he reckons to be between the Years 85, and 89; when the great *Spanish* Armada was fitted out against *England*, and the Prince of *Orange* was murder'd. The fourth Crisis he places between the Time of the Battle of *Prague*, and the Year 1630; when the Elector *Palatine*, and almost the whole Empire, fell under the *Austrian* Yoke. The fifth Crisis, he says, was when the *English* and *French* enter'd into an Alliance against the States General, and the *French* King took Possession of *Utrecht*. When the *Dutch* were in this Distress, the Duke of *Bucks*, and the Lord *Arlington*, he says, were sent over to the King of *France*, to procure them Terms; but that Prince was so exalted with

with the Success, that he would not listen to the Ambassadors, and indeed, consider'd the King of *England* very little. Our Author observes, that the Conquest of the *Netherlands*, at that time, might have easily been effected, if the *French King's Understanding* and his Courage had not been equally defective.

He is pleas'd to mention here the Action at *Solebay*, as very inglorious to his Royal Highness the Duke of *York*; *De Ruyter* disabled the Ship he was in, we are told, which he was blam'd for leaving too soon: And here the Duke's personal Courage, our Author says, was first call'd in Question. The Earl of *Sandwich* perish'd, 'tis said, by his obstinate Courage, laying it to Heart that the Duke should impute the Advice he gave of declining an Engagement, to his Fears; as if he had more Regard to his own Safety than the King's Honour. Here we are entertain'd with a Story of the Duke of *Bucks* coming on Board the Fleet, and half in Jest reconciling himself to the Church of *Rome*, in order to make his Court the better to his Royal Highness; but 'tis said, when Advice came that the *Dutch Fleet* drew near, *Bucks* made haste away, and came on Shoar before the Engagement. The next Year the *English Fleet* coming upon the Coast of *Holland*, intended to have made a Descent with some Land-Forces; and the *Dutch* were sav'd by a Miracle, we are told; for when the *English Fleet* design'd to land their Troops the very next Flood, the Sea, after it had flow'd two or three Hours, an Ebb of many Hours succeeded, which carried the *English Fleet* again out to Sea, and before that was spent, *De Ruyter*, with the *Dutch Fleet*, came in View. Another Design, he says, which would have been no less fatal to them, was defeated by the Duke of *Buckingham*, on Account of a Pique he had

had taken against the Earl of *Offory*, who projected the Enterprize, and that was the surprizing of *Helvoet* Sluice.

We are next entertained with an Account of a new Mistress, which the Duke of *Buckingham* sent over to King *Charles* from the Court of *France*. She had been Maid of Honour to Madam the Duchess of *Orleans*, and came with her to *Dover*; where the King having expressed an unusual Regard to her, after the Death of her Royal Highness, the Duke of *Buckingham* told his Majesty, 'twas but a decent piece of Tenderness to take Care of his Sister's Servant, and so sent her to *England*. This was the famous Duchess of *Portsmouth*, who we are told supported the *French* Interest, and between whom and Mrs. *Gwyn* the King divided his whole Time.

Speaking of the Birth of the Prince of *Orange*, afterwards King *William* the Third, our Author gives us an Account of an Astrologer who calculated his Nativity, and foretold the Fortunes of his whole Life, and of many Accidents which were punctually fulfilled, as they were predicted. Our Author had this relation, he says, from the late Queen's own Mouth, and many of the Prince's Court confirmed it to him, which he thinks much to the Honour of Astrology, how little Regard soever he himself had to the Science.

R E M A R K S.

The Editors of this History have placed the Death of her Royal Highness the Duchess of *York* in the Year 1672, when it happened in the beginning of the Year 1671. But this is not so material as the Difference between Bishop *Barnet*, and all other Writers, as to the Time of her altering her Religion. It is generally said, that this happened during her last

last Illness, when her Weakness disabled her to resist the Importunities of those about her; and in the Paper the Duchess left behind her, we are assured, that she never had any Scruples or Thoughts of changing her Religion, till the *November* before her Death.

On the contrary, the Bishop, p. 227. introduces a Story of the Duchess's having a Gallant in the Year 1665, on whom she looked very kindly, and of whom the Duke was so jealous, that nothing could restore the Duchess to his Favour, she found, but humouring him in his Religion; and that thereupon she sent for some of his Priests, and was instructed by them in the Mysteries of Popery. But he acknowledges, this Transaction was so secret, that there was no Suspicion of the Matter until several Years after; and as the Bishop has not given us the Name of this Gallant, on whom she looked *in so particular a manner*, nor the least Shadow of an Authority to support this Aspersions on her Royal Highness, whose Honour remained untouched, until this Bundle of secret History and Calumny appeared, I presume, it will be numbred amongst his other Forgeries; and unless he had some very good Grounds for wounding this Lady's Fame in so tender a Point, surely, as she was the Mother of his adored Queen *Mary*, he should have refrained his Lust of Scandal, so far as to cast a Veil over any Indiscretions he had heard related of her Conduct. And 'tis observable here, as upon many other Occasions of the like Nature, though he does not directly affirm, that the Duchess did entertain a criminal Correspondence with this Gallant of hers, yet he has said enough to incline his Party to believe she was not entirely innocent. How much more harmless is the Mirth of those Entertainments, which our Author brands with the odious Names of Drunkenness

kennels and Debauchery, than such ill natured Discourses which the Brethren feed upon, and indulge themselves in: But it is thus the Godly generally solemnize their Sabbaths both at Home and Abroad, when the taking an innocent Walk, or a cheerful Glas on that Festival, is sufficient to denominate any Man that differs from them a Reprobate.

To proceed; as our Author hitherto has suffered none of the Royal Family to die lamented, it is no wonder to see this Princess share the same Fate: but if she was a Lady of that great Knowledge and good Sense, and so generous and friendly as he acquaints us, *p. 170.* it must surely not be her Fault that she was not more admired and lamented; and very probably, when our Author says she was not, he speaks of his own narrow spirited Party only, who can see no Beauties, or discern any Virtues in those that are not of their own Sect.

As to the first four Crisis's, or Times when the Protestant Religion was in that imminent Danger, our Author suggests, I refer the Reader to the Histories of those Times; but as to the fifth, unless we believe this fabulous Account of a League between the Kings of *England* and *France* to destroy the *Dutch*, and introduce Popery and Slavery, this Crisis may, for ought I see, be rank'd with Sir *Richard Steel's* in the Reign of *Queen Anne*; for I think our Author himself admits, that King *Charles* was not such a Bigot to any Religion, to lose his Temporal Dominions for the Sake of it. We are told, *he was not Priest ridden, nor would travel again for any Party.* Now let this be granted, and it is impossible he should enter into a League, to make the *French King* Master of five of the seven Provinces, for it required but a very moderate Share of Judgment to foresee, that he would not stop here: That *Flanders* must soon be overrun, and if so,

England

England would have been in no Condition to have resisted the Power of *France*, when so considerably augmented. The Emperor and the King of *Spain*, though of the same Religion with the *French* King, and possibly no less bigotted to it, upon that unexpected Success the *French* met with in *Holland*, immediately appeared in Defence of the *Dutch*, and King *Charles* himself interposed, when the *French* King had made himself Master of *Utrecht*; and when he found the *French* so elated with their Success, that they would hearken to no Terms, we find the next Year that he made Peace without them.

It appears very strange also, that if there was such a Treaty ever made between *England* and *France* for the Destruction of the *Dutch*, that this very Duke of *Bucks*, who is said to have concluded it, should be sent over to *Holland* to procure Terms for the *Dutch*: Had not this been a very proper Time for the *French* to have produced this Agreement, and insisted on the Division of the Provinces, our Author mentions? And does it not almost amount to a Demonstration, that no such League was ever enter'd into, that it is neither mentioned now, or at any Time after, no not when we had actually made Peace with the *Dutch*, and left the *French* to shift for themselves?

But surely our Author is the first Man that ever discovered *Lewis* the XIVth to be a Fool; nothing else, he tells us, could have prevented his being universal Monarch: *The Conquest of the Netherlands might have easily been effected* ('tis said) *if the French King's Understanding and his Courage had not been equally defective.* Thus does he trample on the Wisdom of Princes, and look down with Disdain upon the most consummate Politicians: That the *French* King was a Popish Bigot, a Tyrant, and Oppressor, this we

we have been told by others, but that he wanted Parts, was reserved for *Gilbert Burnet* to affirm. A Man who had less Assurance, or a less Opinion of his own Understanding, would not have called in Question the Opinion of all Mankind; and those who have seen the *French King* contending with all the Powers in *Europe* for so many Years, will possibly be enclined still to think, that he was not destitute of common Sense; if he was that weak Prince our Author represents him, how must it affect his Hero King *William's* Glory, who appeared at the Head of the grand Confederacy against him, and with their united Forces, could make no greater Impression on this silly pusillanimous Monarch, but suffered himself so often to be beaten by him?

From his Reflections on the *French King*, our Author proceeds in his malicious Insinuations against the Duke of *York*; and tells us, the Action at *Solebay* was very inglorious to his Royal Highness; that being sharply engaged with *de Ruyter*, he left his Ship sooner than he should have done, and this first occasioned his Courage to be called in question.

And it must be admitted, if to fight and conquer under the greatest Disadvantages be inglorious, then might the Duke's Valour and Conduct be justly called in question that Day; for it is acknowledged by all, that the *Dutch* had the Advantage of the Wind and Sea Room, while the *English* were pent up in the Bay, so that it was a considerable Time before they could form their Line: However, they behaved themselves so well at length, it seems, that the *Dutch* run away, and the Duke stood after them. And here it is observable indeed, that our Historians are so extremely modest, especially Mr. *Echard*, that though he acknowledges all these Facts to be true, still he calls it an Appearance of a Victory;

Victory; but surely when an Enemy falls upon his Adversary at a Disadvantage, and is beaten off and pursued to his own Coasts, we need not scruple calling it a Victory. Other Nations we see are apt to be too partial to themselves; but our Historians who have treated of that Period between the Restoration and the Revolution, are ever magnifying the Conduct of our Enemies, and lessening the great Actions of their Countrymen, especially when they are engag'd against the *Dutch*.

Nor could our Author be content with depriving the *English* of the Honour of the Victory at *Solebay*, but must fall foul upon the Admiral particularly, and bring him under the Imputation of Cowardice, when his Courage was in no Action more remarkable: But 'tis evident, that this Aspersion was never framed by any one that understood what a Sea Fight was, or he would never have ascribed the Duke's leaving his Ship, and hoisting his Flag on Board another, to his want of Courage: For it appears that the Duke's Ship was not disabled in her Hull, but in her Masts and Rigging. And though she was not in a Condition to tack and annoy the Enemy, yet she was able to defend herself when she was attack'd, and was far from being forced to yield. But it was necessary for the Admiral to go on Board another Ship, that he might be able to advance and direct the Battel. Had he continued in the Rear, in a Ship disabled in her Rigging, what a Discouragement must this have been to the rest of the Fleet, and how should he have been able to have given his timely Orders in any Exigency? It appears also that he was far from going on Board another Ship in order to retreat, for he maintain'd the Fight till the *Dutch* made off, and then stood after them; and we are acquainted from some Gentlemen of Honour that were with the Duke, that he did not only leave this Ship, but another or two more,

where the Rigging was so cut, that he could not advance with the Expedition that was requisite. For it seems the *Dutch* generally fir'd more at the Rigging than at the Hulls of our Ships in every Engagement, and the Duke's quitting his Ship in order to follow the Enemy close, and give the necessary Orders, has been esteem'd by those who understand those Things, as the most hazardous, as well as glorious Conduct he could have shewn. Our Author was not much acquainted with the Danger of passing in an open Boat through Fleets, firing their great and small Shot as thick as Hail, or he would not have expos'd himself to the Laughter of all Mankind, to have represented the Admiral as a Coward, when he ran the greatest Hazards. It was thus Sir *Edward Spragg* was lost in this very War, namely, by quitting his Ship when it was not in a Condition to advance against the Enemy, and going on Board another that was; and he is reckon'd to be one of the bravest Sea Commanders of the Age.

But what is still more observable, is, that our Author should tell us, that this was the *first Time* the Duke's Courage was call'd in question. When he himself has told us, *pag. 219.* that the Duke's Want of Courage was the Occasion the *Dutch* were not pursued, and those Advantages made, that might have been in the first *Dutch War*, seven Years before the Action at *Solebay*. He does not indeed say in so many Words, he wanted Courage, but he says what amounts to it, *That he was struck seeing certain Men of Quality kill'd near him. That he gave secret Orders to Pen to slacken Sail, and that he had no Mind to engage again, and preferr'd Pen for obeying his secret Orders:* Which, I believe, will be imputed, as it was design'd by our Author it should, to Want of Courage in the Duke, by those who can be persuaded to believe these Facts.

As

As to what we are told of the *Dutch* being preserv'd by a Miracle from being swallow'd up by the *English* and *French*, this is not at all to be wonder'd at, when our Author treats of a Nation of Saints of his own Cast. For tho' in the *East* they are contented to be of any or no Religion for their Interest, and can renounce Christianity *occasionally*; yet, I think, they are generally esteemed by our Historians, and particularly by this reverend Bishop, the great Bulwark of the Protestant Religion in *Europe*.

The Duchess of *Portsmouth's* Intrigues I have little to say to; but I believe all the World must observe that no Parson, either Episcopal or Presbyterian, was ever so well acquainted with the Ladies Adventures, as our reverend Author. He certainly knew the Springs and Motives of their Actions, and could give the Characters of as many royal Whores, as any Pimp in *Europe*; and therefore thus far he must be allowed extremely well qualify'd for a Writer of secret History.

The Birth of so great a Prince as King *William III.* 'tis very natural to suppose would have something extraordinary attending it: But our Author ought to have introduc'd some Presbyterian Prophet or Divine like himself to have foretold his Fortunes methinks, and not have committed the Care of them to a common Conjuror; but what we are to infer at last from these Predictions I am really at a Loss to discover: he says, Accidents that were foretold were punctually fulfill'd, and that this was much to the Honour of Astrology. Would he have us believe that the Devil can, and does foretel future Events, when a Hero is to appear in the World, and bring about mighty Revolutions; or to what Purpose is this recorded? He seems here so far from having a little Regard for these Things, that he gives them the greatest Regard and Countenance imaginable, by in-

setting them in the History of his own Times, which he has given in upon Oath.

The Affairs of *Scotland* are again resum'd by our Author, and the Duke of *Lauderdale* came down to *Edinburgh*, we are told, in the beginning of the Year 1672, to hold a Parliament; but he was much elated with the Success of the *French*, it seems, and took great Pleasure in talking of *De Witt's* Fate. He treated all People with Contempt, our Author says, and adjourn'd the Parliament a Fortnight, to carry his Lady about the Country. She was treated with as much Magnificence, and at as great Expence, as if she had been a Queen; which so affronted the Nobility, that they apply'd to Duke *Hamilton* to raise a Party against them, and oppose the Tax of a Year's Assessment, which was demanded; whereupon Duke *Hamilton* sent for our Author, and acquainted him with the Application that was made to him by the Nobility. He had promised our Author indeed not to oppose Taxes in general, with which he had acquainted Duke *Lauderdale*; but this was so extravagant a Demand, Duke *Hamilton* said, that he did not think himself bound by his general Promise. Our Author represented this to Duke *Lauderdale*, and shew'd him the Opposition that was made to this Demand: But he answer'd in a *brutal Manner*, and said, *they durst as well be damn'd as oppose him*. However, he appointed the Marquis of *Arbol* to talk with Duke *Hamilton* in our Author's Presence; and *Arbol* promised him that he should have the Direction of all Affairs in *Scotland* under *Lauderdale*. And when *Hamilton* demanded how the *English* Parliament were affected to the War, Lord *Arbol* answer'd, *that there was a settled Design of having no more Parliaments in England*, for the King would no longer be contradicted by a House of Commons. And he shew'd the Advantages the Nobility of *Scotland* might obtain by

closing

closing with the King, and making him absolute in England; but Duke *Hamilton* refus'd to engage in any such Designs: However, he was prevail'd with to agree to the Tax demanded, and so the Business of the Parliament went smoothly on.

The Duchess of *Lauderdale*, we are told, left no Means unattempted to raise Money to support the vast Expence she liv'd at; she set every thing to Sale, and carried her self with such Haughtiness as would not have been born from a Queen; and she spoke of all People with that ungovern'd Freedom that made her universally hated; our Author particularly, was so weary of her Court, tho' there was scarce a Person in it so well us'd as himself, that he begun to meditate a Retreat, but was press'd to continue in it: That which prevail'd with him to stay, was the many good Offices he found himself in a Capacity of doing; and he apprehended it to be the more necessary, because he saw *Sharpe* and his Creatures making their Court with the most abject Flattery, and all the Submission imaginable. *Leighton* would go but seldom amongst them; our Author says, though he was treated with great Distinction by them; so our Author thought it was necessary that he should remain at Court to keep them right, otherwise all his and *Leighton*'s Designs would be lost: This compell'd him to many uneasy Compliances; though he often found such Fault with their Proceedings that he thought it was fit for him to retire: However, he was sent for, and continued in high Favour, and was courted to accept a Bishoprick, and even promis'd the first Archbishoprick that fell; but he would not engage so early, being but nine and twenty, nor could he indeed depend upon them.

Lauderdale expected at his coming down, our Author says, that the Presbyterians should have address'd him for the same Liberty their Brethren had

in England; which he had been very zealous for at the *English* Court, insomuch that when a Justice of Peace was call'd before the Council-board for disturbing a Conventicle, Duke *Landerdale* said, that *the King's Edicts were to be consider'd and obey'd as Laws, and more than any other Laws*; but the Duke having waited near two Months, and no Application being made to him for Liberty of Conscience (the Presbyterians understanding they were only to be made Tools of to introduce Popery) he broke out into a great Rage against them. Conventicles abounded in all Places, he acknowledges, and *the furious Zealots broke into the Episcopal Ministers Houses, wounded them, and robb'd them of their Goods, and forc'd some of them to swear they would never officiate in their Churches again*. Some of these Robbers were taken and executed, and our Author says he visited them in Prison, and saw in them the blind Madness of ill-grounded Zeal, of which they were never fully convinc'd; one of them seem'd to be otherwise *no ill Man*; another was a bold Villain, and justify'd all he had done, it seems, from the Israelites robbing the Egyptians, and destroying the Canaanites. But what still more alarm'd the Government, was the taking of *Carstairs*, who was sent from the Brethren at *Rotterdam*, with Letters written partly in white Ink, which discover'd that he was sent over to sound the Inclinations of the People, and promise them Arms and other Necessaries, if they were in a Condition to disturb the Government; but they were so darkly writ, and so much referr'd to the Bearer, who made his Escape, that it was not possible to understand the Mystery: But hereupon a severe Prosecution of Conventicles was begun, and arbitrary Fines impos'd. Our Author did what he could, he says, to moderate the Fury, but in vain; for *Landerdale* broke out into the most frantick Fits of Rage imaginable, insomuch

insomuch, that when our Author demanded of him if he would drive these People into Rebellion, he answer'd, *would to God they would rebel, that I might bring over an Army of Irish Papists to cut all their Throats.* However, after a Month's Time he became calm on a sudden, upon some Intimations from the King, our Author supposes, for the Party had complain'd of their hard Usage to their Friends in London. Duke Lauderdale therefore now put in execution our Author's Project of granting Livings to the Fanatick Preachers, but did not send them by Couples, as Leighton and he had advis'd, and so those that were not provided for, went about the Country boldly holding Conventicles without Restraint, *and the Church was taken no Care of.*

Sharpe hereupon complain'd that the Church was ruin'd by Leighton, and our Author had his Share of the Blame; and the Remissness of the Government was such, he acknowledges, that *there were just Grounds for Complaint*; for great Numbers assembled arm'd at their Field Conventicles, and it was said, *things were carry'd so far beyond what a Principle of Moderation could suggest, that Leighton and our Author certainly design'd to ruin and subvert the Constitution*; whereupon Leighton observing that he could gain no Ground on the Presbyterians, and that he was suspected and hated by the Episcopal Party, resolv'd to retire, and lay down his Bishoprick, which Lauderdale at first would not permit him to do, but promis'd to accept of his Resignation in a Year's Time, if he did not alter his Mind; and here our Author comes to a Conclusion of his second Book.

REMARKS.

As to *De Witt's* Fate, with which our Author says Duke *Lauderdale* was so pleas'd, the Story is so far from being secret History, that I shall take little Notice of it here, only observe, that *De Witt's* Destruction was the Rise of the Prince of *Orange*, and one of the great Quarrels the Court of *England* had with the States, was *De Witt's* depressing the Prince of *Orange*, and his Party. The Ministers of *England* had often represented the Hardness of the Prince's Case to the States, and requir'd them to restore him to his Rights; and notwithstanding the War with the *Dutch*, the Court of *England* always kept up a friendly Correspondence with the Prince, who had as much Reason to rejoice at the War with the *English* and *French*, as *De Witt's* Faction had to be confounded, for he had never been Stadtholder but for this War; and the *Dutch* knew King *Charles* would be soon appeas'd, when he saw his Nephew invested in that Office, and so in reality he was; and the *Dutch* no sooner acknowledg'd the Right of the Flag, and promis'd to do the *English* Justice in the Affair of *Surinam* and the *East-Indies*, than a Peace was concluded; and 'tis observable, that our Author so far acknowledges the Court of *England* in the Interest of the Prince of *Orange*, that, he says, it was stipulated in the pretended Treaty abovementioned, that the Prince should have the Sovereignty of *Holland*, which is much the most considerable of all the Provinces.

But to return to *Scotland*; notwithstanding Duke *Lauderdale* is here charg'd with Extravagance, Pride, Luxury, Extortion, Tyranny, and the most insolent and cruel Administration that ever Nation experienc'd, this same Author in his Dedication to his

four Conferences, printed this Year, 1673, at Glasgow, talks in a very different Strain of him; and as he has often repented the Charge against this noble Lord, give me leave once more to recite a Paragraph of that Dedication in his Vindication.

May it please your Graces,

“THE noble Character which you do now so
 “worthily bear, together with the most
 “lasting and inward Characters of your Princely
 “Mind, did set me beyond doubting to whom
 “this Address was to be made; for to whom is a
 “Vindication of the Authority and Laws of this
 “Kingdom so due as to your Grace, to whom his
 “Majesty hath by a Royal Delegation committed
 “the Administration of Affairs among us, and un-
 “der whose wise and happy Conduct we have enjoyed
 “so long a Tract of uninterrupted Tranquility? But it
 “is not only your illustrious Quality that intitles
 “you to this Dedication; no, great Prince, greater
 “in your Mind than by your Fortune, there is some-
 “what more inward to you than the Gifts of For-
 “tune, which as it proves her not blind in this In-
 “stance, so commands all the Respect can be paid
 “your Grace, by such who are honour’d with so
 “much Knowledge of you, as hath fallen to the
 “happy Share of your poorest Servant.

And it is observable, our Author tells us in this History, that he knew at the same Time he presented his Dedication, that Duke Lauderdale was engag’d in a Design to subvert the Laws and Constitution: Nay, he tells us, that he openly invited Duke Hamilton and the Nobility to enter into Measures to make the King absolute, and that he himself was made use of by Duke Lauderdale as a Tool to persuade Duke Hamilton not to oppose the Court;

so that if we are to credit this part of his History; no Man was more instrumental in promoting the Duke's Designs than himself, though in others he expresses such an Abhorrence of them.

To proceed; how considerable does our Author make himself here, and with what Contempt doth he treat the Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, and the rest of the Bishops and Clergy of *Scotland*? He thought it necessary for him to remain at Court, because he saw *Sharpe* and his Creatures (the Archbishop and his Clergy) making their Court with the most abject Flattery; that is, they were probably humbly representing their deplorable Circumstances, and begging the Protection of the Government against those Robbers and Murderers, our Author mentions in the following Page, and he apprehended if he left the Court, his Scheme of *Moderation* would have been spoil'd, and those Villains would have been no longer suffer'd to commit such Outrages with Impunity.

If Duke *Lauderdale* broke out in a great Rage, when he understood that the Presbyterians whom he had so long indulg'd, still assembled arm'd at their Field-Conventicles, that they broke into the Episcopal Ministers Houses, robb'd and wounded them, and made them swear to abandon their Churches, as our Author himself acknowledges in this Place, was not his Anger very just in this Case, and had not Dr. *Sharpe* Reason to complain, and apply to the Government for Redress? But when these Robbers were brought to Justice, to see our Author justifying or excusing their Crimes, because he suppos'd they robb'd and murder'd the Clergy upon Principle, out of a blind Zeal, as he calls it, is something very extraordinary. One of the Criminals who was condemn'd for these Facts, he tells us, was *no ill Man*, if Allowance was made for his ill-grounded Zeal; but how any Man's Zeal for his Religion could put

put him upon committing a Robbery, or how a Robber could be deem'd an *innocent Man*, I should have been at a Loss to discover, if our Author had not told us of another of these Villains, who justify'd his robbing and murdering the Clergy, from the Example of the *Israelites* robbing the *Egyptians*, and slaying the *Canaanites*; and thus our Author has unluckily discover'd to us the full Extent of Presbyterian Principles. They look upon themselves, it seems, to be God's chosen People, as the *Jews* were, and commission'd by Heaven to plunder and destroy the rest of the World, as Enemies to God and his Elect; and whoever stands upon his own Defence, and will not offer them his Throat, is an Enemy to *Moderation*. But possibly, now the World has seen their Principles reduc'd to Practice, People will rather venture being look'd upon as Enemies to *Moderation*, and be content with those hard Names these Gentlemen are pleas'd to give them, than enter into Measures again, that may exalt a Sect, whose Principles are so apparently destructive of human Society. One who robs only for his Necessity, and never murders but to avoid Discovery, is surely much less to be dreaded than a Villain who cuts our Throats *in the Name of the Lord*, and believes nothing can be more acceptable to the Deity, than human Sacrifices, especially of Priests who wait at the Altar.

Very just was the Observation of the *Scottish* Clergy, when our Author and Dr. *Leighoun* appeared in Behalf of these Villains: *That Things were carried beyond what a Principle of Moderation could suggest, and that they could design nothing less than the Ruin and Subversion of the Constitution*; especially, when our Author acknowledges, that at the same Time there was a Conspiracy on Foot between the Brethren at *Rotterdam*, and those in *Scotland*; and that

that in the Letters taken with *Carstairs*, they were promis'd to be supply'd with Arms and all other Necessaries from *Holland*, if they would begin another Rebellion. Surely when Duke *Lauderdale* observ'd the perverse Behaviour of these People, after he had so long conniv'd at their inhuman Outrages, and suffer'd the Government both in Church and State to be insulted and tradue'd by them, if he had not express'd a suitable Resentment, he must have been very insensible; and our Author's becoming their Advocate, when he plainly saw the State as well as the Episcopal Clergy were in such apparent Hazard, can never be excus'd or accounted for, unless the Prejudices of Education, and his Fondness for his Mother and his Uncle *Wariston's* Family, may be thought sufficient to cancel the Obligations he lay under to his Prince and Country. For to say, that the Letters *Carstairs* brought were so *mysterious*, that it was not possible to make any Thing of them, when, he tells us, Arms and Assistance were promis'd the Rebels from *Holland* by them, is something very odd; possibly he meant, that they had taken such Care, that no Proofs appear'd against any particular Conspirator. However, if in general it was understood that these Field-Conventiclers who daily assembled themselves in a hostile manner were really ripe for Rebellion, and only waited for the Assistance of their Friends abroad, the Lord *Lauderdale* must be justify'd before all the World, after so much Lenity as he had express'd towards them, to suffer the Law now to take its Course: He had try'd what Moderation and Connivance would do sufficiently, which he found only encourag'd them in their barbarous Outrages and Insults on the Government, and unless he would have suffer'd the Constitution to be entirely subvert-ed, he was under a Necessity of using those Severi-

ties our Author so much complains of; and it is observable, that notwithstanding our Author does in general cry out of Oppression and Tyranny, and tells us, these *poor People were made mad by Oppression*, he does not give one Instance of Oppression through his whole History, unless the setting Fines upon People who had committed the most notorious Robberies, and who would have been hang'd for their Villanies under any other Government, may be deem'd an Oppression. And possibly our Author in appearing so strenuously in the Defence of such a Generation, who had long slighted all Offers of Grace, and who grew still more insolent and assuming from that Lenity and Indulgence the Government had shewn them, has given us so just a Character of himself, and shewn how truly Episcopal he always was, that there will for the future be no room to doubt how much a Friend he was to the Constitution both in Church and State.

The End of the Second Book.



the our Author to which consisting of: and it is
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MUSEVM
BRITANNICVM

